

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A Monthly Publication with intermission from July to October (inclusive)

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The Subscription Price of the current annual volume is \$5.00 for the United States and Mexico and \$5.50 for other countries included in the Postal Union. Single issues, price seventy-five cents.

Contributors and Publishers should send manuscripts and books for review to the Editors of Modern Language Notes, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., indicating on the envelope whether the contribution concerns English, German, or Romance. Every manuscript should be accompanied by a stamped and addressed return envelope. In accepting articles for publication, the editors will give preference to those submitted by subscribers to the journal. Foot-notes should be numbered continuously throughout each article; titles of books and journals should be italicized; titles of articles enclosed in quotation marks. Quotation marks are not used in verse quotations that form a paragraph. Write II, 3, not vol. II, p. 3. The following abbreviations are approved: *DNE.*, *JEGP.*, *MLN.*, *MLR.*, *MP.*, *NED.*, *PMLA.*, *PQ.*, *RE.*, *SP.*, *RNS.*, *TLS.* Proof and MS. should be returned to the editors with an indication of the total number of reprints desired. Subscriptions and other business communications should be sent to The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland.

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THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS, BALTIMORE MARYLAND

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Baltimore, Maryland, Postoffice
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103,
Act of Congress of July 16, 1894.

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Modern Language Notes

Volume LVIII

NOVEMBER, 1943

Number 7

A CHAPPELLE IN THE MIRACLES DE NOSTRE DAME

Much has been written concerning the rich fourteenth-century collection, the *Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages*.¹ The sixteenth play of the Cangé manuscript, the *Miracle de la mère du pape*, contains one of the most unusual stage effects in the entire series. I refer to the miraculous "chappelle" which the Blessed Virgin orders to be brought down from Heaven to honor Marie, the pope's mother, who has frozen to death in a field. Notre Dame appears with the angels, Michael and Gabriel, to claim the soul of the dead woman and to superintend a memorial service. The staging of this scene in the play has caused such perplexity that I quote the complete instructions from the text:²

Nostre Dame

My ange, je vueil c'on li face
Cy telle honneur et si grant gloire
Qu'il en soit a touzjours memoire:
C'est que je vueil qu'une chappelle
Fondez dessus li bonne et belle,
Et que mettez son corps en terre.
Or vous en delivrez bonne erre:
Si en irons.

Second Ange

Dame, vostre vouloir ferons:
En l'eure y voulons pourveoir.
Il ne la fault mais qu'asseoir.
Vez la ci ou des cieulx descent,
Si con Dieu vostre fils consent,
Ne plus ne moins.

¹ Edited by Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert for the Société des Anciens Textes Français, Vols. I-VIII (Paris, 1876-1893).

² *Miracles de Notre Dame*, II, No. 16, ll. 1549 ff.

Premier Ange

Tandons y, vous et moy, les mains,
Tant comme elle descent du ciel
Pour la miex asseoir, Michiel,
Droit en sa place.

Second Ange

Or prenons ici bonne espace:
De ça iray.

.
Fondée est ferme comme tour
Ici endroit ceste chappelle.
Glorieuse vierge pucelle,
En irons nous?

Nostre Dame

Nanil, je vueil avant que vous
Un luminaire li mettez
Entour elle et que vous chantez
Cy doucement.

Second Ange

.
Gabriel, de ce luminaire
Prenez, s'en mettez par dela
Aussi que feray par deça.
Or du haster.

Premier Ange

Il ne nous fault fors que chanter.
Le luminaire est tout assis
Et alumé

Accepting the common meaning of "chappelle," Donald C. Stuart has stated that the property referred to was "a chapel constructed during the play."³ Dorothy Penn agrees that "Play No. 16 requires during the action the setting up upon the stage of one of the small houses [mansions] near Heaven."⁴ There is an alternative interpretation for this scene, overlooked by both Mr. Stuart and Miss Penn, and not, so far as I can ascertain, hitherto advanced by any other writer. That is, that the property in question was not a chapel at all, but an ingenious device employed for its strategic as well as its spectacular effect in the play.

³ *Stage Decoration in France in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1910), 81.

⁴ *The Staging of the "Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages" of MS. Cangé* (New York, 1933), 18 and 71.

That the Puy Notre Dame which staged these performances made frequent use of a coffin and a pall, and occasionally of a luminary, is definitely suggested in several of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*. For example, in the *Miracle de saint Jehan Crisothemes*, the body of Anthure is placed in a casket and is carried off stage as the play ends.⁵ In the *Miracle de saint Alexis*, the protagonist's body is laid out in state on "un hault lit," "attourné/ Richement et bien aourné," and is covered with a pall of cloth-of-gold.⁶ In three of the plays in which a character dies during the action, his body must remain on stage for some time before burial. In two of these instances, we have positive evidence that a coffin was used. In the first, the *Miracle de l'evesque que l'arcediacre murtrit*, a bishop who has been murdered by an envious arch-deacon is given a state burial. In preparation for the obsequies before he is to be placed "a terre" . . . "en ce coffre," his ecclesiastic robes are removed, his body is covered with a rich funeral pall embroidered in gold, "son luminaire,/ Un paille, un chalit, un suaie" are brought, and the casket is then placed on trestles and covered with a cloth-of-gold pall for the church services.⁷ In the *Miracle de une femme que Nostre Dame garda d'estre arse*, the body of Aubin, who has been murdered at the order of his mother-in-law, Guibour, is placed in a coffin with a lid which can be raised for the inquest.⁸ The remaining example occurs in the *Miracle de la mère du pape*, with the lowering of the *chappelle*.⁹ The lines of the play clearly indicate that the object came from above; that the body of Marie was to be placed "en terre" and the property placed over it; and, finally, that the angels had only to guide the device on its descent, not, as Stuart suggests,

⁵ *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, I, No. 6, "ce coffre," l. 1551.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, No. 40, 2439 ff.

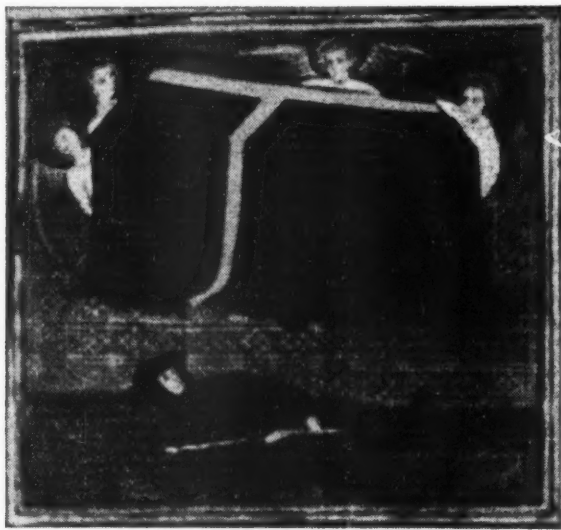
⁷ *Ibid.*, I, No. 3, "un coffre," l. 329.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, No. 26, 483 ff., 578 ff. *Premier Voisin* brings "un coffre bel et net. . . . Pour ce corps en terre porter" (483-85).

⁹ In the three last-mentioned plays, some time elapses between the death of the character and the end of the play. In No. 3, the bishop dies at line 241; he is buried at line 470. In No. 26, Aubin is murdered at line 293; the lid of his coffin is raised at line 578, and the casket is taken to the "cemetery" (off stage) at line 675. In No. 16, Marie's death occurs at line 1546. The play ends at line 1824; during all this time the body of Marie lies beneath the "chappelle."

construct it. In my opinion, the *chappelle* was not a chapel at all, but a catafalque¹⁰ or funeral canopy.¹¹

One further point is significant. That is the iconographical evi-



Miracles de Notre Dame, II, No. 16,
from the Cangé MS.

"Miracle de la mère du pape"

Courtesy of the Yale-Rockefeller Theatre Collection

dence supplied by the manuscript itself. Each of the forty plays is illustrated by a miniature executed by an unknown artist who was

¹⁰ Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, II, 13, *cadafalus*: "ab Italico catafalco, . . . unde etiam nostrum *Catafalque*, Tumulus honorarius"; and *capella*, 8: "pegma funebre, tumulus honorarius." Cf. also P. Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel*, III, 956, "chappelles funéraires." W. von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, 285, defines *cappella*, *chappelle ardente* as a luminary which burns around a coffin or cenotaph, although he traces this meaning only from the sixteenth century. Under "chappelle," Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire*, states: "Ce mot est souvent employé pour désigner . . . un monument funèbre" (II, 194), though his material also dates only from the sixteenth century.

¹¹ Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc has a design showing a reconstruction of such a canopy and the disposition of candles about the temporary tomb. Cf. *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1863-1875), IX, 64, Figure 29.

contemporary with the anonymous authors. In nearly every instance, he has selected the most dramatic moment in the action, the climax of interest. Each miniature is inherently theatrical, and is so close to the indications of stage technique in the text, that the artist may conceivably have seen some of the performances of the puy. Although the miniatures cannot be taken as conclusive evidence as to methods of staging, nevertheless the fact must not be ignored that in all the plays where chapel mansions figure prominently in the plot, the artist has shown them in his illustrations.¹² In the *Miracle de la mère du pape*, however, where the action reaches its climax in the miracle performed by Notre Dame to honor Marie, the artist has depicted not a chapel nor a small house, but a pall-draped coffin descending from above.¹³

From the iconography, from the description of the object by the angels as they lift up their hands to guide it on its descent, from the convention of the Puy Notre Dame of covering a dead body as quickly as possible when it could not be immediately removed from the stage, and from Notre Dame's emphasis on funeral pomp, a luminary, and the requiem, comes the suggestion that here was no memorial chapel built on the scene, but rather a funeral canopy lowered from above,¹⁴ to conceal as well as to honor the dead. As such, it is a novel and interesting contribution to the staging of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*.

ROBERT A. SHILEY

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¹² The miniatures for the following plays show a small house or chapel mansion: Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 21, 28, 40.

¹³ It must be admitted that the use of *chappelle* in this sense is unique in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, and that in all other instances where a coffin is mentioned in the plays, it is referred to as "coffre" or "hault lit."

¹⁴ Gustave Cohen cites several examples of the lowering of objects from above, including the dove used in the *Miracle de Clovis* (*Miracles de Nostre Dame*, VII, No. 39). Cf. *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge* (Paris, 1926), 153.

A TRACE OF DÜRER IN RABELAIS

The name of Albrecht Dürer would be sought for in vain from the first to the last page of Rabelais's works. Yet it is hidden, hitherto unidentified, behind a passage in the Fifth Book. In the thirtieth chapter, which describes the *Pais de Satin*, the land of the animals 'made of tapestry,' Rabelais says:

Je y veiz un rénocéros du tout semblable à celluy que Hans Cleberg m'avoit autresfoys monsté, peu différent d'un verrat que autrefois j'avois veu à Legugé, excepté qu'il avoit une corne au mufle, longue d'une coudée et pointue, de laquelle il osoit entreprendre ung éléphant en combat et, d'icelle le pognant soubz le ventre (qui est la plus tendre et débille partie de l'éléphant), le rendroit mort par terre.¹

The commentaries have little to say about the passage. The description of the duel between elephant and rhinoceros was, of course, easily recognized as a borrowing from a familiar passage in Pliny's 'Natural History.'² The identification of "Hans Cleberg" was not difficult: Cleberg—or better Kleberger—(b. 1485, d. 1546) was a spectacular person in Rabelais's time, a merchant from Nuremberg who lived at Lyons from about 1526 on, a wealthy and charitable man, a friend of the arts and a benefactor of the poor, who achieved something like local immortality under the sobriquet of *le bon Allemand*.³ It stands to reason that Rabelais, a physician at the *Hôtel-Dieu*, could easily have established con-

¹ I quote the text from Boulenger's edition (*Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*, 1938), p. 861.

² Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VIII, ch. 29. The description is not Pliny's own; it can be traced back to earlier Greek works such as Agatharchides, *On the Red Sea* (in Photios' *Bibliotheca*, cod. 250; p. 455 Bekker), Strabo XVI, ch. 4, sec. 15, and Diodorus Siculus III, ch. 35; but Pliny was instrumental in transmitting it to later ages.

³ The literature on Kleberger is considerable. Incomplete bibliographical notes are in K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur Deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, I (Leipzig, 1933), 408, and Aimé Vingtrinier, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Lyonnaise de M. Coste* (1853), nos. 15430 ff.; cf. nos. 13617-13622. The most extensive study is by M. Eugène Vial, a series of nine essays in *Revue d'histoire de Lyon* XI-XIII (1912-1914). Relations to artists are in evidence in Kleberger's testament as quoted by Vial, *loc. cit.*, XII, 371, bequeathing 25 écus d'or to "Sebastien de Laye, peintre à Lyon, pour l'amitié qu'il lui porte." It will be seen below that de Laye was not the only artist with whom Kleberger was in personal touch.

tact with the great benefactor of the charitable institutions of Lyons.⁴

But, curiously enough, the puzzling question how this man Kleberger could demonstrate a rhinoceros to Rabelais has escaped most of the editors and commentators. Only the late L. Sainéan paid any attention to it, and his answer is undoubtedly wrong.⁵ Sainéan introduces Kleberger in the new capacity of a "collector of zoölogical rarities" and owner of a private zoölogical garden, whose acquaintance was sought by Rabelais in his continual search for scientific, especially zoölogical, information. According to Sainéan, Rabelais saw a live rhinoceros in Kleberger's collection. This statement has no basis save the passage which it is intended to explain. Nowhere in the vast material concerning Kleberger is there any indication of an interest in rare animals. Kleberger's zoölogical collection is nothing but the product of a strained attempt at interpretation.

It is safe to assume that the presence of a living rhinoceros at Lyons in the first half of the sixteenth century would have left traces in local as well as general literature. The arrival of a specimen of this animal, which had been unknown to the Middle Ages, in Lisbon in 1515 created what may well be called a European sensation.⁶ The history of a fight staged between this rhi-

⁴ From 1532 on Rabelais stayed intermittently in Lyons. He first came to the city in June, 1532, was appointed physician at the *Hôtel-Dieu* on November 1, 1532, and remained in this position until the end of 1534, though his stay was interrupted by journeys to Chinon and Rome. We find him at Lyons again in 1536, 1537, and 1538.

⁵ L. Sainéan, *La langue de Rabelais*, I (Paris, 1922), 41. See also Sainéan's more recent book: *Problèmes littéraires du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1927), 36, 81. Sainéan's article "L'histoire naturelle dans l'œuvre de Rabelais" in *RSS.*, III (1915), 218-219, does not contribute anything to the solution of the problem.

⁶ The story has recently been retold in full, with the addition of interesting material from various printed sources and public records, by Senhor Abel Fontoura da Costa, *Desambulações da ganda de Modafar rei de Cambaia, de 1514 a 1516* (Lisbon, Divisão de publicações e biblioteca, Agência geral das colónias, 1937, 49 pp.). A copy is in the Library of Congress. On this book in Portuguese Mr. Campbell Dodgson bases his article, "The Story of Dürer's Ganda," in *The Romance of Fine Prints*, ed. by Alfred Fowler (The Print Society, Kansas City, 1938). Besides this famous rhinoceros of 1515, Sainéan, in *RSS.*, III (1915), 218, and *La langue de Rabelais*, I (1922), 20, believes he has discovered a second specimen brought to Europe during the sixteenth century and shown at the *joyeuse*

noceros and an elephant was reported as far as Nuremberg,⁷ and it was in connection with this report that Albrecht Dürer came into possession of a sketch on which he based his famous drawing⁸ and his even more famous woodcut⁹ of the rhinoceros.

There is, then, a special relation between Nuremberg and the rhinoceros. But there also is a special relation between Nuremberg and Kleberger. And in both cases Dürer is the common denominator. In 1526 the wealthy businessman had his portrait painted by the great master from his own native town. The portrait,¹⁰ a unique item in the long series of portraits painted by Dürer because of its peculiar classicistic style, is now in the

entrée of Henri II in Paris in 1549. But this turns out to have been merely a sculpture bearing an obelisk; see Pierre Champion, *Paris au temps de la Renaissance: Paganisme et Réforme* (Paris, 1936), p. 115. Since 1515, thanks to Dürer's woodcut (see below), the rhinoceros became something of a popular artistic theme, as shown by a number of existing replicas and derivations of Dürer's rhinoceros.

⁷ The author of such a report, a German writer and printer who lived at Lisbon, is known only under the disguise of a Portuguese name, Valentim Fernandes; see K. Haebler, *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des 15. Jahrhunderts im Auslande* (Munich, 1924), p. 272 f. The letter, transmitted only in an Italian translation, was printed by Angelo de Gubernatis, *Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie orientali* (Leghorn, 1875), p. 389.

⁸ The best reproductions are in F. Lippmann, *Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers in Nachbildungen*, III (1894), no. 257, and in *Publications of the Dürer Society*, IV (London, 1901), no. XII; the most recent ones in Fontoura, *op. cit.*, pl. 2; Tietze, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrecht Dürers* (Basel and Leipzig, 1937), p. 274, no. 639; *The Romance of Fine Prints*, *loc. cit.*, p. 44. The inscription, in Dürer's own hand, repeating the story from Pliny, is probably copied from a letter of Valentim Fernandes (see above); since it mentions "our king of Portugal" it must have been written by a Portuguese subject, and Fernandes was an *escudeiro* of the queen of Portugal.

⁹ Eight different editions are in existence, listed most recently by Joseph Meder, *Dürer-Katalog* (Vienna, 1932), p. 254, no. 273. Only the first can be assigned with certainty to Dürer's lifetime (1515). Copies of this first state are, e.g., in the British Museum (reproduced in *Dürer Society Publications*, IV, no. XXVI; Fontoura, plate 2, reversed; *The Romance of Fine Prints*, *loc. cit.*, plate I) and in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (cf. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, xv, 1920, p. 34). Reproductions of one or the other state can easily be found in any collection of Dürer works.

¹⁰ Tietze, *op. cit.*, no. 958; Max I. Friedländer, *Albrecht Dürer* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 190. A beautiful reproduction is in W. Waetzold, *Dürer und seine Zeit* (Vienna, 1935), no. 71.

Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. An inscription by Dürer's hand, running around the head, excludes all doubt:

E (ffigies) · IOANI · KLEBERGERS · NORICI ·
AETA · SVAE · XXXX ·

With these facts in hand the final conclusion is easy. Kleberger did indeed show a rhinoceros to Rabelais, but not a live one. He showed him the famous woodcut¹¹ by his late artist friend. The comparison of the rhinoceros with a boar in Rabelais's description is understandable only under the assumption that Rabelais never saw a living specimen. The picture by itself could not give him an idea of the real size of the animal. From the caption in Dürer's woodcut he could have learned that the rhinoceros is about the same size as an elephant except that its legs are shorter. He evidently paid no attention to the caption, and Kleberger failed to translate it for him. The fact that Dürer's caption gives the tale from Pliny as Rabelais does, should not be over-estimated in the philological search for affiliation. Rabelais knew his Pliny well enough to be able to find the data for himself, without benefit of Dürer's quotation.

Here, then, we have reconstructed a genuine, if remote, link between two of the great minds of the age. If someone should ever publish a new illustrated edition of "Pantagruel," applying more modern principles of illustration than Robida's, he might do well to include the two Dürer works, the Kleberger portrait and the woodcut of the rhinoceros.

RICHARD SALOMON

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PROUST AND RIBOT

La chasse à la mémoire involontaire continue. In a recent article¹ René de Messières adds to the accumulation of documents already published by Jean-Albert Bédé² and Justin O'Brien³ to

¹¹ If Meder is right in his assumption that the second edition of the woodcut came out as late as 1540 or thereabouts, it is certain that the copy seen by Rabelais was one of the first edition.

¹ René de Messières, "Un document probable sur le premier état de la pensée de Proust," *RR.*, April, 1942.

² Jean-Albert Bédé, "Chateaubriand et Marcel Proust," *MLN.*, June, 1934.

³ Justin O'Brien, "La mémoire involontaire avant Marcel Proust,"

show that Proust's favorite theory of "la mémoire involontaire" occurred previously in literature. Along with their literary evidence both M. de Messières and Mr. O'Brien give a passing salute to Théodule Ribot, the prolific psychologist who devoted several chapters and articles to the subject of "affective memory" during the same decades that Proust's work was in gestation. Since both commentators slight this additional and exceedingly significant parallel in professional psychology, it seems advisable to review this problem more in detail.

Mr. O'Brien's reference to the professional psychologists is the more complete:

[Proust] a vraisemblablement ignoré lui-même que cette distinction [mémoire volontaire et mémoire involontaire], de première importance à ses yeux, se trouvait déjà établie dans la *Psychologie des sentiments* de Th. Ribot, qui est de 1896, dans *La Fonction de la Mémoire et le souvenir affectif* de Frédéric Paulhan, qui est de 1904, ainsi que chez Taine et dans plusieurs articles de la *Revue Philosophique* et du *Journal de Psychologie*.⁴

As Mr. O'Brien indicates, there is no proof that Proust knew Ribot's work in time to be influenced by his theory or that, even later, he acquired any particular knowledge of it. An inconclusive reference to Ribot figures in a letter from Proust to Robert Dreyfus in 1909:

Je disais socialiste pour plaisanter sur les questions que je te posais quand je te disais: 'Méline, est-ce bien? Ribot, est-ce bien?' étant pour ma part incapable de juger de ces choses.⁵

First, the date is not early enough to count; then one is at a loss to know whether to take this profession of ignorance in good faith. Ten years later,⁶ in writing to Walter Berry,⁷ Proust expressed surprise that his correspondent should read such an author as Ribot—"philosophe de 25^e ordre," he added parenthetically. We are at liberty to detect here a note of professional jealousy or a second-hand opinion founded on hearsay; at least there is still no proof, even as late as 1919, that Proust really knew Ribot's work.

RLC., January, 1939, and "Henry Harland, an American forerunner of Proust," *MLN.*, June, 1939.

⁴ O'Brien in *RLC.*

⁵ *Correspondance Générale de Marcel Proust*, iv, p. 242.

⁶ Redated by Dr. Philip Kolb, *Etudes Critiques sur la Correspondance de Proust* (Harv. diss.).

⁷ *Correspondance Générale de Marcel Proust*, v, p. 31.

On the other hand, a rapprochement yields some interesting similarities. Ribot's work on affective memory first appeared in the *Revue Philosophique*⁸ in 1894 with the title "Recherches sur la mémoire affective." This article became the chapter "La mémoire affective," published in his *Psychologie des Sentiments* in 1896. It was a readable book that probably found its way into the hands of many a layman. Emile Faguet, who admired Ribot as a moralist, reviewed it in the *Revue Politique et Littéraire*.⁹ The reviewer seems to consider the discussion of affective memory to be particularly interesting, which is an indication of how the contemporaries in general received the book. Ribot claimed to be the first to investigate this subject thoroughly although he stated that the point had been mentioned by Spencer, Bain, James, Fouillée, Höffding and Lehmann. We may consider him the father of affective memory in France.

Mr. O'Brien maintains that Ribot distinguished between voluntary and involuntary memory; that may be true, although it seems to me that the distinction is more implicit in Bergson, for example, than in Ribot. Ribot's subject is not the memory of the intelligence ("abstract memory," he calls it) but rather the revival of past emotion—"affective memory." His material is particularly interesting to the layman because it is anecdotal, being based on sixty replies to a questionnaire and some data from other sources. The most "Proustian" quotation is one taken from an article by Littré in 1877 in which the philosopher relates that at the age of ten he lost a sister but that, naturally at that age, he soon forgot his grief; many years later this happened:

Tout à coup, sans le vouloir ni le chercher, par un phénomène d'automnésie affective, ce même événement s'est reproduit avec une peine non moindre, certes, que celle que j'éprouvai au moment même et qui alla jusqu'à mouiller mes yeux de larmes.¹⁰

This case is comparable to any one of the numerous instances of involuntary memory in Proust. At first glance Proust's involuntary

⁸ Th. Ribot, "Recherches sur la mémoire affective," *Revue Philosophique*, October, 1894.

⁹ Emile Faguet, "Psychologie des Sentiments," *Revue Politique et Littéraire*, Sept. 12, 1896. Reprinted in his *Propos Littéraires*, iv, pp. 25-37.

¹⁰ Ribot, *Psychologie des Sentiments*, p. 153. Originally printed in *Revue Positive*, 1877, p. 660.

memory seems synonymous with Ribot's affective memory. But in the category of affective memory Ribot makes further distinctions when he speaks of *true* and *false* affective memory, the false affective memory being a new emotion arising from an "abstract" recollection of a previous emotion. True affective memory is of two types; the more common of the two is the "reviviscence provoquée": "Elle consiste en ce qu'un événement *actuel* suscite les images d'événements antérieurs."¹¹ Proust's cup of tea and madeleine episode would fall into this category. This type Ribot seems to consider almost banal; what he is seeking is "la possibilité d'une reviviscence non provoquée par un événement actuel."¹² So the kind of reply to his questionnaire he prefers is one like that of Sully Prudhomme who claims that, by dint of concentrating on the memory of a disastrous but puerile student love affair, he is able to revive at will the original emotion even though, intellectually, he realizes now in his maturity that his feeling is absurd. Proust's terminology does not allow for a case of this sort; his involuntary memory is only the more common of Ribot's two types of affective memory. Hence any influence of Ribot on Proust must have been ephemeral indeed. M. de Messières believes that, in spite of the contemporary interest in involuntary memory for which he cites examples, Fernand Gregh's short story *Mystères*, which is supposed to portray Proust, is proof of the spontaneous generation of the idea of involuntary memory in either Proust or Gregh and more probably in Proust. The only answer to this is that there remains still a remote possibility of an indirect influence from Ribot since the short story dates from 1896 whereas Ribot's work first appeared in 1894. We shall see later examples of how this influence might have been disseminated, although we possess no such examples for this early period.

Subsequently Ribot's theories aroused much comment among professional and amateur psychologists. What Mr. O'Brien fails to emphasize is the magnitude of the discussion of affective memory which overflowed from the philosophical journals into literature itself. Before the erudite discussion itself was well launched we find developing the very kind of tangent which might have bridged the gap between Ribot and Proust. In 1897 Dr. Paul

¹¹ *Idem*, p. 140.

¹² *Idem*, p. 155.

Chabaneix drew on Ribot's book, Hartmann, Janet, Binet and other sources for his *Essai sur le Subconscient dans les Œuvres de l'Esprit et chez leurs Auteurs*, a book from which Ribot borrowed liberally in turn for his *Essai sur l'Imagination Créatrice*, 1900. Commenting on Chabaneix's work in the *Mercure de France*,¹³ Remy de Gourmont noted the phenomenon of affective memory and added:

Il est bien évident que la sensation entrée en nous sans que nous en ayons eu conscience ne peut, à aucun moment, être volontairement évoquée; mais la sensation consciente peut, au contraire, nous revenir à l'improviste, sans nul concours de la volonté.

Like Proust, Gourmont was here discussing an esthetic of the subconscious utilizing involuntary memory.

In 1901 the controversy over affective memory began in the professional periodicals with an article by M. Mauxion in the *Revue Philosophique*; ¹⁴ agreeing that affective memory existed, this psychologist denied that the Sully Prudhomme example cited by Ribot was *true* affective memory:

. . . l'émotion ne revit point; c'est un phénomène entièrement nouveau qui apparaît et qui, semblable ou dissemblable d'ailleurs au sentiment primitif, n'a pas plus sa condition d'existence dans ce sentiment que la tempête d'aujourd'hui dans la tempête du mois passé.

This objection might explain how, if Proust was cognizant of the discussion of affective memory among specialists, he came to reject this type of affective memory. In the same number of the same review ¹⁵ F. Pillon discussed Spencer's and Höffding's original remarks on the subject. The following year Henri Piéron ¹⁶ again summarized the discussion in the same review.

In 1903 Charles Méré contributed to the *Mercure de France* ¹⁷ an article on "La Sensation du déjà-vu" which again brought up the same problems in popularized form; he mentioned Ribot as one

¹³ Remy de Gourmont, "Notes sur le subconscient," *Mercure de France*, April, 1898.

¹⁴ M. Mauxion, "La vraie mémoire affective," *Revue Philosophique*, February, 1901.

¹⁵ F. Pillon, "La mémoire affective: Son importance théorique et pratique," *Revue Philosophique*, February, 1901.

¹⁶ Henri Piéron, "La question de la mémoire affective," *Revue Philosophique*, December, 1902.

¹⁷ Charles Méré, "La sensation du déjà-vu," *Mercure de France*, July, 1903.

of his sources along with Sander, Bourdon and Dr. Thibault. Paraphrasing an unnamed work by Fernand Gregh, which does not seem to be the short story mentioned by M. de Messières, Méré relates:

Vous vivez, dit M. Fernand Gregh, vous allez et vous venez, vous dites des mots et soudain vous *sentez* que vous avez déjà fait ces gestes, dit ces mots dans le même ordre, de la même façon, sans qu'il vous soit possible de dire ni où ni quand. Vous *sentez* que vous *vivez* identiquement une minute que vous avez déjà vécue.

Méré's article again demonstrates one of the channels by which, through popularization, the notions of professional psychology were diverted towards literature.

Meanwhile the erudite discussion also continued when, in 1904, L. Dugas upheld Mauxion's point of view in the *Revue Philosophique*.¹⁸ In the same year Fr. Paulhan issued *La Fonction de la Mémoire et le Souvenir affectif*, to which Mr. O'Brien also refers; aside from some interesting examples of affective memory from literary sources, this writer contributes little more to the problem than the notion that "un fait ne reste jamais dans l'esprit tel qu'il s'est produit"¹⁹ and that it is impossible to distinguish categorically between true and false affective memory. In the *Année Philosophique*²⁰ in 1906, F. Pillon again defended Ribot's belief in the possibility of willfully reviving affective memories and digressed on the latter's English predecessors. He also developed the same remarks further in the *Revue Philosophique*²¹ the following year. In 1907, in the same review,²² Ribot came to his own defense with the contention (which Proust would have seconded) that actually the revival of the emotion precedes all intellectualization of the memory even in these cases of willful revival. This article he reprinted in his *Problèmes de la Psychologie Affective*, 1910. In the meanwhile, in 1909, J. M. Baldwin of the Johns Hopkins had published in the *Revue Philosophique*²³ his "La mémoire affective

¹⁸ L. Dugas, "La mémoire affective," *Revue Philosophique*, December, 1904.

¹⁹ Paulhan, *La Fonction de la Mémoire* . . . , p. 174.

²⁰ F. Pillon, "Sur la mémoire et l'imagination affectives," *L'Année Philosophique*, 1906, pp. 45-123.

²¹ F. Pillon, "Sur l'imagination affective," *Revue Philosophique*, March, 1907.

²² Ribot, "La mémoire affective. Nouvelles remarques," *Revue Philosophique*, December, 1907.

²³ J. M. Baldwin, "La mémoire affective et l'art," *Revue Philosophique*, May, 1909.

et l'art," which expresses more abstractly many of Proust's reflections on the music of Vinteuil, and Ribot had discussed "La mémoire affective et l'expérimentation" in the *Journal de Psychologie*,²⁴ describing a method of choosing and questioning subjects in an investigation of affective memory. Apparently 1910 marks the terminus of the discussion. However, it is a curious fact that in 1930 L. Dugas again wrote in the *Journal de Psychologie*²⁵ on "La mémoire des sentiments," taking this time all of his examples from Proust.

Recorded above are only a few of the ramifications of this intricate problem of affective memory which seems to have fascinated laymen and specialists in Proust's day. Ribot relates that he had numerous correspondents, both professional and amateur, who communicated their experiences to him. One of them, Michel Corday, wrote in 1907 a novel entitled *La Mémoire du Cœur* inspired by these theories.²⁶ Perhaps a link will one day be discovered between Proust and this well populated group of affective memory enthusiasts. It is, in fact, unlikely that Proust should not have sooner or later come in contact with them even if he failed to at first. Perhaps this confirmation of his own theory led him to lay greater stress on this problem when he came to write *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*. In the use of involuntary memory we shall not accuse Proust of lack of originality, as did Jean Hytier,²⁷ nor shall we agree with Jean Pérès²⁸ and Dr. Charles Blondel²⁹ that he had made a truly original discovery. Rather it is clear that, at best, Proust only confirmed and reiterated a theory which greatly preoccupied his contemporaries.

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²⁴ Ribot, "La mémoire affective et l'expérimentation," *Journal de Psychologie*, August, 1909.

²⁵ L. Dugas, "La mémoire des sentiments," *Journal de Psychologie*, March 15-April 15, 1930.

²⁶ Ribot, *Problèmes de la Psychologie Affective*, p. 77.

²⁷ Jean Hytier, "Marcel Proust," *Larousse Mensuel Illustré*, September, 1923.

²⁸ J. Pérès, "Le rêve de la veille dans le roman proustien," *Journal de Psychologie*, January 15-February 15, 1932.

²⁹ Dr. Charles Blondel, *La Psychographie de Marcel Proust*, 1932, Chap. III.

PROVERBS IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

The vast bibliography connected with the study of proverbs has emphasized many of the reasons that make them of importance to historians of literature, but it may be worth while to indicate here why this subject seems to have special interest for students of the writings of the Middle Ages. Huizinga and others have shown how heavily the medieval man leaned upon tradition and traditional learning, how exaggerated was his respect for general concepts expressed as maxims, and how frequently arguments of all kinds—political, social and moral, as well as religious—were settled by citation of texts.

But the universal acceptability of proverbs in literary works of the Middle Ages may perhaps deserve some additional stress and for reasons which seem not to have been stressed at all. We tend today to associate the use of homely aphorisms with intellectual poverty of expression, with writers of limited vocabulary and little imagination. Literature designed for popular audiences may consciously make use of them, to be sure, or they may be adopted to characterize some platitudinous old person, but, unless they be in some foreign tongue, when their standing is considerably enhanced, adages and maxims are usually avoided by modern writers with any pretensions to artistic distinction.¹ However, it is clear that this was not the attitude of medieval or even Renaissance authors. From the twelfth century on authors of books on rhetoric recommend the use of proverbs as a stylistic device of merit, and in the sixteenth century Henri Estienne can still say, "les beaux proverbes, bien appliquez, ornent le langage de ceux qui d'ailleurs sont bien emparlez."

In these circumstances it becomes important for medievalists to recognize proverbial expressions for what they are. It is not valid, for example, to posit "borrowings," as is frequently done, when

¹ See Archer Taylor, *The Proverb*, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 171-183. "Writings which make a conspicuous effort at literary style generally avoid them except as details characterizing the folk" (172). For various aspects of proverbs in French literature and a selected bibliography, see Frank and Miner, *Proverbes en rime*, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1937, Introduction and pp. 85-86. Cf. also David Heft, *Proverbs and Sentences in Fifteenth Century French Poetry* (an abridgement), New York University, 1942.

two authors make use of such common coin. Even less valid is the assumption of originality when a proverb goes undetected. In the fifteenth century we find dozens of writers—Villon, Charles d'Orléans and his friends, the group around the Duc de Bourbon, the writers of Lyons, the authors of *Pathelin* and other farces—all interlarding their verses with expressions like "chose qui plaît est à demi vendue," "l'escorpion lèche quand il veut poindre," "à qui vendez-vous vos coquilles," "prendre des vessies pour des lanternes," and the like. Many of these commonplaces are of course so well known that they are readily discovered and correctly interpreted. But others sometimes remain unperceived, and certain authors have accordingly been credited with creative and original expressions for which they themselves would make no such claim.

More than one critic, for instance, has remarked upon the characteristic Villonesque touch in the opening lines of his *Testament*:

En l'an de mon trentiesme aage
Que toutes mes hontes j'eus bues . . .

Boire ses hontes—how adequately both verb and noun suggest the poet! Yet Huon de Méry had employed the expression in the thirteenth century and with a metaphorical meaning, showing it to be well-established before his day.² It reappears, with a slight variation, in a fourteenth century *Miracle de Sainte Geneviève*, where Jesus, speaking of the iniquities of the French, says to Notre Dame:

Lessiez leur boire leur folies . . .³

Charles d'Orléans also uses it as part of a refrain in a *Rondeau*:

Qui a toutes ses hontes bues
Il ne lui chault que l'en lui die.⁴

Indeed, according to Schwob and Thuasne, this *Rondeau* may have

² In his *Tournoiement de l'Antichrist*, ed. Tarbé, 1851, p. 13. The author is describing the feast served to Antichrist. There was a marvellous dish of fried sins, "friture de péchiés," which had to be washed down with great draughts of "honte":

Car ceus en convenist crever,
Qui orent la friture eüe,
S'il n'eüssent honte beüe.

³ Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, I, 197 = ed. Clotilde Sennewaldt (*Frankfurter Quellen u. Forsch.*, vol. 17, 1937), line 672.

⁴ Ed. CFMA II, 405.

been intended as a portrait of Villon, who in turn echoed its refrain—a suggestion that in the circumstances seems wholly fanciful.⁵ After Villon's day we find the expression cited as current in Oudin's *Curiositez françoises* (1656): "elle a toutes ses hontes beuës," is glossed by "elle est hardie ou effrontée."

Villon and Charles d'Orléans may perhaps have given the expression some vogue—there is no denying the effective setting in which they place it—but they did not invent it. Here it is incumbent upon the literary historian, after having recognized the phrase for what it is, to discover how each poet employs it, what gives it special meaning for him, whether he has heightened or depressed its significance. In the present instance one has only to compare the expression as it appears in the various texts cited to realize that Huon de Méry uses it metaphorically, punning upon it, that the *Miracle* adopts it as a cliché, that Charles d'Orléans gives it Oudin's meaning and proceeds to paint a striking portrait of a man who is "hardi ou effronté," whereas Villon, by turning the figure of speech against himself, fills it with literal, realistic and individual content.

Another example may further serve to illustrate my point. In the *Folie Tristan* of the Oxford manuscript, Tristan, despite the fact that he has purposely disguised himself, reproaches Isolt for not recognizing him. He says (ed. Bédier, 701-702):

Ohi! Isolt, ohi! amie,
Hom ke ben aime tart ublie.

The simplicity and sincerity of that phrase—qui bien aime, tart oublie—has been justly admired. Yet it is a proverb (see Morawski, *Proverbes français*, no. 1835) and occurs in a British Museum manuscript (B) of the collection called *Proverbes en rimes*.⁶ In this collection a man is represented as taking leave of his wife. He bids her remain faithful to him:

Soyés vers moy franche et realle,
Car qui bien aime, tart oublye.

⁵ Thuasne, ed. *Francois Villon*, II, 80: "Cette locution [de Villon] paraît être une réminiscence d'un rondeau de Charles d'Orléans où, selon Schwob, le duc aurait eu en vue Villon. Le portrait encore que "grave et triste" semble ressemblant."

⁶ Published in *RR.*, XXXI, 1940, 209 ff. See p. 215, stanza 76, l. 304.

Obviously, the setting in the two cases makes a vast difference. In the *Folie Tristan* there is first the lover's cry to Isolt, then the proverb, and after it the comparison of disloyal love to a spring of clear water that no longer flows. This is poetry, whereas the other text offers merely a pedestrian presentation of the commonplace.

Other instances might be added. An old proverb about beating a dog before a lion which appears in Chaucer has been ascribed to that poet's knowledge of the actual practices of animal trainers in his day.⁷ Not recognizing the proverb, "De fol juge, brefve sentence," a recent work draws the conclusion that the words "fol juge" in a certain farce are an "indication that this farce was played by *sots* of the Basoche."⁸ The same work qualifies Deschamps's line, "Dieux ne veult du pecheur la mort," as "a line worthy of Tartuffe" (p. 77, n. 17), although paraphrases of Ezekiel 33, 11 are commonplaces in the Middle Ages and many poets, including Rutebeuf, Jean de Meun, Charles d'Orléans, Christine de Pisan and Villon, echo this same thought in strikingly similar words.⁹ Again the effectiveness of Villon is evident. Rutebeuf says:

Mes Diex . . .
Ne veut pas que pechierres muire . . .

Jean de Meun puts it:

Diex qui ne vult que muire pechierres . . .

Villon, by applying the words to himself and by embedding them in the matrix of his own sins and penitence, gives them special poignancy:

Je suis pecheur, je le sçay bien;
Pourtant ne veult pas Dieu ma mort . . .

Enough has been said, perhaps, to fortify a plea that before "influences" and "originality" be posited, the wide-spread use of proverbs and sentences in medieval writings be remembered.

II

It may not be amiss to add another and complementary plea at this point, namely, that the medieval poet's recourse to adages and

⁷ See *MLN.*, LV, 1940, 481.

⁸ See *The Theatre of the Basoche*, by Howard Graham Harvey, p. 136, n. 46. For the proverb, see Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des proverbes français*, Paris, 1859, II, 132.

⁹ Cf. Thuasne's ed. of Villon, II, 104.

the like be not judged by modern notions of stylistic distinction. Chaucer's typically abundant citation of proverbs has been ascribed more to his acquaintance with Deschamps and the writers of *fabliaux* than to his knowledge of the tenets of the rhetoricians, but, as Whiting says, "the mediaeval fondness for sententiousness is no more dependent on textbooks than the equally common predilection for citing authorities."¹⁰ It is part of the reverence for tradition. And this respect for codified wisdom remained of course throughout the Renaissance. The tendency then, as to some extent in our own day, was to cite, not the popular maxims of the folk, but Latin and other foreign tags. Erasmus's beliefs in the usefulness of Greek and Latin proverbs is apparent from the titles to some of the introductory sections of his *Adagia*: *commendatio proverbiorum a dignitate*; *ad quot res utilis paroemiarum cognitio*; *ad persuadendum conducere proverbia*.

However, the modern contempt for clichés and homely sayings of common currency also had its roots in the Renaissance, and flourished in the seventeenth century. Although John Lyly was addicted to the scholastic tradition of citing examples to prove his points, he made far more use of his learned knowledge of the ancients than of popular maxims.¹¹ Shakespeare's use of proverbs to characterize persons of Pistol's class needs no comment here. Ben Jonson's Captain Bobadill in *Every Man in His Humour* (1598) says of the plain Squire Downright (I, 5): "By his discourse, he should eate nothing but hay . . . He ha's not so much as a good phrase in his belly, but all old iron, and rustie prouerbes: a good commoditie for some smith, to make hob-nailes of." Similarly, Sir Thomas Overbury in his *Characters* (published 1614, but written earlier), describing a Dunce, writes: "His jests are either old fled proverbs, or lean-starved hackney apophthegms, or poor verbal quips, outworn by serving-men, tapsters and milkmaids, even laid aside by balladers." John Earle in his *Microcosmography* (1628) characterizes A Plain Country Fellow as follows: "He thinks nothing to be vices, but pride and ill-husbandry, . . . and has some thrifty hob-nail proverbs to clout his discourse," whereas Sir Thomas Browne in his *Pseudodoxia* (1646) remarks (I, 3)

¹⁰ B. J. Whiting, *Chaucer's Use of Proverbs*, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1934, p. 19.

¹¹ Cf. Feuillerat, *John Lyly*, Cambridge, 1910, 413-16.

that to the people, "being unable to wield the intellectuall arms of reason," "proverbs [are] more powerful than demonstrations."¹²

In France a similar attitude obtains. It is asserted, for example, in *Les Lois de la galanterie* (1658 or 1660): "Vous vous garderez surtout d'user de proverbes et de quolibets, si ce n'est aux endroits où il y a moyen d'en faire quelque raillerie à propos. Si vous vous en serviez autrement, ce seroit parler en bourgeois et en langages des halles,"¹³ and when Philaminte is complaining to her husband of the speech of the servant, Martine, in *Les Femmes savantes* (first played 1672, *privilege* of 1670), she accuses her of using (Act II, scene 7):

un barbare amas de vices d'oraison,
De mots estropiés, cousus par intervalles,
De proverbes traînés dans les ruisseaux des Halles.

In these instances there is of course an attack upon preciosity, and the authors imply their disapproval of its pretentiousness. Nevertheless the association of proverbs with the lower classes is clear, and we are well on the way to Lord Chesterfield's advice to his son (1741): "A man of fashion never has recourse to proverbs and vulgar aphorisms."¹⁴

Something more than class distinctions and class consciousness was involved here, however, and I suspect something more than medieval love of tradition was involved in the earlier fondness for the sententious phrases of the folk. One may perhaps hazard the conjecture that whenever and for whatever cause the emphasis in literature is primarily upon novelty and originality of expression—whether we call this trend euphuism, preciosity, gongorism, imagism or something else (and different as these movements may be in themselves)—then proverbs and like homely commonplaces will be pilloried. In the vernacular literature of the Middle Ages, *per contra*, with a few exceptions of which the troubadours are the

¹² For the quotation from Jonson see the ed. of Herford and Simpson, Oxford, 1927, III, 320. The citations from Overbury and Earle appear in Henry Morley's *Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century*, 1891, pp. 44 and 183 respectively, whereas that from Browne is in G. Keynes's ed. (1928), II, 26. For these references I am indebted to the kindness and learning of Dr. Walter E. Houghton, Jr.

¹³ Cited in the Grands Ecrivains ed. of Molière, IX, p. 101, n. 4.

¹⁴ Cited in *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*, Oxford, 1935, p. xviii.

most notable—their *trobar clus* is of course a forerunner of later types of preciousness¹⁵—matter was more important than manner; instruction or diversion of the folk was the end; means to that end, especially so long as literature was heard rather than read, had necessarily to be simple, forthright and readily intelligible. Proverbs at such a time admirably and obviously served many purposes.

With the development of printing, however, literature no longer was largely oral and its enjoyment in written form was not limited to a relatively few persons; now the minutiae of stylistic distinction would not be lost, but could be savoured and re-savoured in written form.¹⁶ When authors consciously endeavored to give the vernacular equal standing with Latin as a recognized literary language or when they appealed deliberately to a restricted group or social class, then new incentives were given to the cultivation of subtleties of form. In such circumstances proverbial expressions would be scornfully rejected.

But it is evident that in the earlier Middle Ages these conditions did not obtain. The *chanson de geste*, the *roman courtois*, the *dit*, the religious drama and the farce could unblushingly cultivate ready-made axioms, and did. In the sophisticated lyrics of the fifteenth century, where a more critical attitude toward clichés might be expected, proverbs nevertheless continued to enjoy a great vogue: poems *à forme fixe* delighted in their use as refrains since they served to give the poet's thought and expression a pithy filip. But it is obvious that the attitude toward them (as in the

¹⁵ Elisha K. Kane (*Gongorism and the Golden Age*, Chapel Hill, 1928, p. 136) saw the connection between *trobar clus* and gongorism, but did not consider proverbs in relation to either. His attempts (128 ff.) to explain the genesis of artificial and bizarre effects in various literatures can not be discussed here, nor can Feuillerat's suggestion in his *John Lyly* (p. 460, n. 2) that "le langage des Précieuses, le Marinisme, le Gongorisme" are the results of an "effort pour améliorer l'idiome national." Interest in novelty for its own sake need not lead to excesses—though it often does—but the reasons for this interest vary at different times and no one formula can adequately account for it.

¹⁶ Contrast the conditions obtaining in the aristocratic lyric and the more plebeian farce. It is obvious that the many elaborate manuscripts of the words and music of the troubadours and trouvères enabled wealthy amateurs to enjoy the felicities of their verbal and musical dexterity. The farces, on the other hand, which are often mosaics of maxims, were almost entirely dependent before the days of printing on oral presentation.

still later *Proverbes dramatiques*) no longer reflects the old, artless reliance upon their uncontested wisdom. Frequently they serve merely as a device to be juggled with, a plaything for deft manipulation, and the poet obviously is little concerned with their truth.

From this point of view it would seem that the "history of the use and disuse of proverbs" involves something other than "a progression from the concrete to the abstract."¹⁷ It involves, besides, a shift from respect for tradition, a shift from willingness to make use of current expressions in order to facilitate the tasks of preaching, teaching and entertaining the commonalty—a shift from these to emphasis for various reasons, upon creative originality of thought and novelty of form. In any case recognition of the sanction given the prevalence of proverbs throughout the Middle Ages will be helpful in the interpretation of medieval literature. If we realize that certain classical and modern taboos did not obtain then, that literary conventions have changed, and that the sins of today may indeed have been the virtues of yesterday, then our interpretations will be tempered accordingly and our understanding correspondingly enriched.

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A PERSIAN THEME IN THE ROMAN DE RENARD

Branch XXIV of the *Roman de Renard*, composed probably toward the middle of the thirteenth century,¹ is known chiefly for the following picturesque episode:²

After Adam and Eve have been driven from Paradise, God takes pity on them. To render their hard life a little easier, he gives them a rod: by striking the sea with it, they will be able to obtain whatever they may require. Adam follows the directions given him, and on striking the sea, he obtains the sheep, which he turns over to his wife. Then, wishing to imitate her husband, Eve takes the rod and strikes the sea a violent blow. Immediately a wolf leaps forth and seizes the sheep to Eve's horror and dismay. Adam, by striking the sea again, creates the dog, which promptly

¹⁷ J. E. Haseltine in *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*, p. xii.

¹ Lucien Foulet, *Le Roman de Renard*, Paris, 1914, p. 96.

² Ed. Martin, II (Strasbourg, 1885), pp. 336-38; cf. Foulet, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 f.; 482 f.

runs after the wolf and rescues the sheep. In this way our first parents continue using their rod, Adam creating the domestic and useful animals, Eve the wild and harmful ones, among them the clever fox,—which explains the insertion of this story in the epic of Reynard the Fox.

Commenting on this story, Gaston Paris³ expressed himself as follows:

Cette histoire, que le poète dit empruntée à un livre appelé *Aucupre*, est fort singulière et bien probablement d'origine manichéenne; la femme y est considérée comme l'être malfaisant par excellence et la cause de tout mal dans le monde. . . .

He then drew attention to the existence of our tale, in several variants, in Modern Provence, and he raised the question whether it may not be a heritage from the times of the Albigensians. As a matter of fact, a literary Provençal story, though resting no doubt upon a popular basis, stands rather close to the mediaeval episode which was the starting point of our inquiry:⁴

God gives Adam a hazel-rod with the instruction to strike with it whenever he will be in need of something useful; but Eve is strictly forbidden to handle the rod. As she insists on seizing it, Adam gives her a good blow on the back, and immediately a fine sheep appears. Adam then hides the rod; but Eve is not long in finding it; she strikes the ground, and an enormous wolf appears, which runs after the sheep. Eve cries for help; Adam picks up the rod which she had dropped and gives her another blow. Thereupon a dog is seen running after the wolf and rescuing the sheep from his clutches.

A variant of the tale, less misogynic in tendency, is told to this day in Brittany:⁵

Jesus Christ, wandering once through Brittany with S. Peter, rewarded a poor peasant woman with a cow which He had created by striking her staff on the cottage hearth and mumbling some Latin words. No sooner have the strangers departed than the old woman, eager to have a second cow, strikes the hearth in her turn, but violently, and uttering some words which she perhaps believed were Latin. Immediately an enormous wolf appears, who strangles the cow on the spot. The poor woman then runs after the strangers, reporting her misfortune but forgetting to tell the

³ *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 606, n. 3.

⁴ J. Roumanille, *Li conte prouvençau*, Avignon, 1889, pp. 1 ff.; cf. Paul Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, Paris, 1904-1907, III, 4.

⁵ F.-M. Luzel, *Contes bretons*, Quimperlé, 1870, pp. 59 ff.; *Légendes chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne*, Paris, 1881, I, 4 ff.; Paul Sébillot, *Contes des provinces de France*, Paris, 1920, pp. 209 ff.

manner in which the wolf had appeared in the first place. Jesus has pity on her and restores her cow, admonishing her, however, to be henceforth content with what God has given her.

To the same group of stories belongs a Santal variant reading as follows:⁶

Chanda once went into the hills to fashion a plough out of a log of wood. As he tarried long, his wife at home grew impatient; she made some mosquitos, which she sent after him to worry him and drive him home. But Chanda made some dragon flies who ate up the mosquitos. Thereupon his wife continued to create other noxious animals for the same purpose; but her husband countered by creating others which promptly destroyed them. At last she made a tiger and sent it to frighten him home; but Chanda created dogs out of chips from the log he was cutting, and they drove the tiger away.

The strange misogyny which runs through these stories has not escaped the critics;⁷ but whether this is an original feature may well be doubted. At the basis of the theme lies a dualistic conception of the creation of animals which is bound to have other analogues.

According to a Finnish story, Jumala created man and, with a certain amount of pride, showed his master-piece to the Devil. Thereupon the latter conceived a desire to create something still more curious, and he produced the mouse. Then Jumala created the cat which destroys mice.⁸

Similarly, in a Czech tradition the Devil created the mouse so that it might destroy man's wheat; but God made the cat to destroy the creature of the Devil.⁹

To return to France, oral Breton tradition has preserved entire lists of animals created by God and of such as owe their origin to the Devil. Thus the horse, the cow, the sheep, the dog, the hen, the pigeon, the swallow and the bee are God's creatures, while the

⁶ C. H. Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, London, 1909, p. 404.

⁷ Paris, *loc. cit.*; J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1895, p. 362; Martin, *Observations sur le Roman de Renart*, Strasbourg et Paris, 1887, p. 96.

⁸ K. Krohn, *Suomalaisia kansansatuja*, I (Helsinki, 1886), No. 280; Russian translation in *Živaja Starina*, v (St. Petersburg, 1895), p. 446; cf. Dähnhardt, *op. cit.*, I, 166.

⁹ J. V. Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, I (Prag u. Leipzig, 1864), No. 1683; B. O. Tufnell, *Folk-Lore*, xxxv (1924), p. 30; Dähnhardt, I, 166.

donkey, the goat, the wolf, the fox, the raven, the magpie, the jay, the bat and the wasp are creatures of the Evil One.¹⁰

It is clear that the episode of the mediaeval French beast epic which has been the starting point of this study is based on the same idea, except that Adam has taken the place of the good Creator, Eve that of the Devil. We are thus led to enquire into the origin of the basic theme, which is assuredly not biblical.

The division of the animal kingdom into 'good' and 'evil' creatures is a peculiar tenet of the religion founded in Persia by Zarathustra. There, too, Ormuzd, the good god, creates the dog; his evil counter-part, Ahriman, the wolf. In the same way Ormuzd makes all useful animals: the rooster, the starling, the boar, the gazelle, the hedgehog, the beaver, etc., Ahriman all noxious animals such as snakes, scorpions, lizards, toads, ants, mosquitoes, etc.¹¹ Ormuzd creates the hunting hawk, Ahriman the peacock (which is widely believed to have the 'evil eye'). Accordingly, in the belief of the Parsees, killing the Ahrimanic creatures, the *Khrafstras*, is killing Ahriman himself, and sin may be atoned for by this means, whereas killing an Ormuzdean animal is an abomination; it is killing God himself.¹² Thus the Iranian origin of the basic dualistic scheme cannot be doubted. But are we to suppose that the substitution of the woman for the Devil took place independently in Western Europe and among the Santals of India? Misogyny being well-nigh universal—it is found even among the pre-Columbian Indians—,¹³ the possibility of such a development must be frankly admitted; but it is hardly more than a possibility. On the whole it is far more likely that the substitution took place long before the story set out on its migration east and west.

How is this migration itself to be explained? That the tale should have reached the Santals of India is little surprising in view of the Parsee migration to India after the Mohammedan con-

¹⁰ G. Le Calvez, *Revue des Traditions populaires*, I (1886), pp. 202 f.; Dähnhardt, I, 164 f.

¹¹ Fr. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, II (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 124, 144 f.; J. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris, 1877, pp. 278 ff.

¹² *The Zend-Avesta*, part I: *The Vendidad*, translated by J. Darmesteter, Oxford, 1880 (*The Sacred Books of the East* IV), p. lxxiii; *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 283 ff.

¹³ The matter has received some discussion in my book *La Genèse des Mythes*, Paris, 1938, pp. 295 ff.

quest of Iran in the seventh century. But how did it reach Europe and the West? Here it must be remembered that the Persian national religion has left a deep impress upon certain Christian sects, generally known as Manichæan: the Paulicians in Armenia, their offshoot, the Bogumils, in the Balkans and, above all, the Albigensians in Southern France. In the dogma of these sects the Devil took the place of the Persian Ahriman and, like Ahriman, assumed the rôle of a creator god, the creator of all noxious animals, poisonous plants, etc. To this must be added the significant fact that a number of these sects held profoundly misogynic views which went so far as to declare woman herself as a creature of the Devil and to prohibit altogether the union of the sexes, whether in marriage or out of it.¹⁴ It would then seem likely, as Gaston Paris pointed out, that our story was diffused in the West with other items of Manichæan religious propaganda, certainly prior to the thirteenth century.¹⁵

This may explain still another rather striking feature. Misogyny, as is well known, was rampant in the Middle Ages, and merry tales driving home the lesson abound everywhere. Yet the number of variants of our story is surprisingly small, and one cannot help suspecting that the orthodox clergy, knowing its provenance, discouraged its diffusion.

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A. FR. ESMARVE

Dans son édition de *L'Histoire de Gille de Chyn* (Northwestern Studies in the Humanities, n° 7, 1941) M. E. B. Place commente

¹⁴ Dähnhardt, I, 92; A. Strauss, *Die Bulgaren*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 45 ff.; S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, London, 1930, p. 194; J. A. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, Boston [1932], pp. 213, 224.

¹⁵ Gaston Paris (*loc. cit.*) was reminded of 'plus d'un récit bulgare,' and he added: "l'on sait que les Bulgares ont propagé l'hérésie manichéenne." It is quite true that Bulgarian folk-lore abounds in dualistic creation legends (cf., for example, Lydia Schischmanoff, *Légendes religieuses bulgares*, Paris, 1896, *passim*). No exact replica of our theme is found, however, in such Bulgarian collections as give the originals in French, English, or German translation.

ainsi le mot *esmarve* du vers 3496 (. . . *tote en fu esmarve* [:cave] *La roïne de la nouvele*) :

Probably a metathesized form of *esmaivre* (*esmaivre*), 'cold like marble, frozen with fear' (Godefroy)? For the probability that -r- was silent, see Pope 396 (Effacement of preconsonantal r)

Reiffenberg avait expliqué le mot dans son édition de *L'Histoire*: "pour *esmarie*, *esmaie*, *esmervillée*, étonné, frappé de surprise" et Godefroy explique ce hapax par les mots: "comme *esmari*." M. Place semble avoir combiné le *esmarve* isolé avec les articles de Godefroy *esma(r)bre* 'froid comme le marbre, glacé de terreur,' attestant plusieurs fois des phrases du type *de paour a le cuer esmaivre* (*De l'Unicorne*), et *esmarbré* (hapax de sens identique), peut-être aussi avec l'article *marbrer* 'devenir de marbre, se glacer' (hapax attesté dans le texte *De l'Unicorne* que nous venons de citer: *tex paour ai, li cuers li mabre*).

J'adopterais l'identification de *esmarve* avec *esmarbre* implicite dans le commentaire de M. Place, sans me rallier à son étymologie, qui, en somme, doit avoir aussi inspiré la traduction de Godefroy 'froid comme le marbre.' Si je peux bien m'imaginer un *marbrer* 'laisser sur la peau les marques de contusions' et, d'après Mosemiller (*Rev. d. dial. rom.* 1, 423), un berrichon *mabrir* 'meurtrir' (*cette pêche est mabrie*), qui correspondent à l'image des veinures du marbre, je ne puis accepter un *(*es*)*marbrer* 'pétrifier' —puisque'un a. fr. *(*es*)*pierrer* 'pétrifier' n'existe pas au sens de l'all. *versteinert*—bien qu'on ait dit en a. fr. *si quers li amortid cume pierre* (God. s. v. *amortir*): un **espierrer*, s'il avait existé, aurait été le contraire d'un *empierrer* 'couvrir de pierres' (esp. *empedrar*). De plus, je ne vois pas de possibilité phonétique pour expliquer le -v- de la forme *esmarve*: *marbre* ne connaît que le -b- comme 'consonne de transition.'

La traduction de Godefroy nous a menés sur une mauvaise piste étymologique; il faut rebrousser chemin et écarter le 'marbre,' sans écarter le glacement par la terreur—or, il y a un autre froid qui glace et épouvante, c'est celui de la mort. Et c'est précisément un radical **marv-* 'mort' (avec -v-, qui peut aisément évoluer vers -b- après r, cf. *corvus* > *corbeau*) qui est à la base de ce gaulois **marvōs* (= cymr. *marw* etc.) que M. Jud a reconstruit (*Rom.*, XLVI, 465) pour l'engadin. *marv* 'transi de froid' et le prov. *mārfi* -e 'id.' Le REW, n° 5387a accepte cette étymologie, tout en

demandant comment s'expliquerait le -f- des formes provençales : un *marvos, s'il a existé aussi en a. fr., devrait évidemment donner un masc. a. fr. *marf, fém. *marve, formes que M. Jud ne doit pas avoir trouvées dans ses matériaux. Or un féminin *marve* a été reconnu par M. von Wartburg ZRPh LVI, 670 en France septentrionale dans le nom de rivières intermittentes comme *La Marve*, *Les Marvottes*, qui auront signifié à l'origine 'rivière morte' (cf. en outre du parallèle *eau-morte* donné par v. Wartburg, le nom de la ville méridionale *Aigues-Mortes* et ce *gutta mortua* opposé à *gutta viva* attesté dans le Cartulaire de Cluny, avec *gutta* au sens de 'torrent, ravine,' v. Jud, *Vox roman.* II, 21). Le masc. *marf, inattesté jusqu'ici, a peut-être laissé une trace dans les formes provençales (qui ont inquiété Meyer-Lübke) — si nous les considérons comme des emprunts au français.

Je n'hésite pas à joindre notre *esmarve* à la même famille de mots : le sens aura été 'mort' 'glacé' > 'terrifié' > 'surpris' (cf. la phrase a. fr. *quers . . . amurtid cume pierre*¹), développement parallèle à 'mort de froid' = 'glacé, transi de froid'; il s'agit d'un adjectif postverbal (cf. a. fr. *delivre, ferme*) tiré d'un verbe *esmarver ou *esmarvir. Quant à la forme *esmarbre* (*marbrer, esmarbré*), elle est la variante à -rb-, possible d'après ce que j'ai dit plus haut, avec insertion d'un -r- comme dans a. fr. *tristre, celestre* etc. Le berrichon *mabir*, expliqué par M. Mosemiller comme représentant de *marbre*, peut aussi être notre *márvos (sans l'insertion du -r- après le -b-) — puisque le verbe prov. *marfi* signifie aussi 'flétrir, mortifier, macérer, chiffonner' (pour la disparition du -r- cf. notre *esmarve* en rime avec *cave*).

Les découvertes scientifiques mettent du temps à mûrir leurs fruits : en 1920 M. Jud lança son étymon *marvos, en ne se basant que sur le rétoroman et le prov. ; en 1936, M. v. Wartburg l'attesta dans la toponomastique de France ; voilà maintenant un authentique représentant ancien français !

LEO SPITZER

¹ Cf. le passage de Paré cité par Littré s. v. *amortir* qui réunit la surprise et le 'glacement' :

Quelques fois on trouve les vipères si *surprises de froid* qu'elles demeurent toutes *amorties* et immobiles, comme si elles estoient gelées.

GERMAIN COLIN BUCHER AND THE STROZZI

In an earlier communication the present writer has pointed out that fifty of the poems of Colin Bucher published by Joseph Denais are hardly more than pleasing translations from the *Erotopaegnion* of Girolamo Angeriano.¹ To these borrowings may here be added a much smaller number taken by Colin from another well-known neo-Latin book, the poems of Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (†1505) and his son Ercole (†1508). The *Strozzi Poetae Pater et Filius* was first published by Aldus at Venice in 1513, and was several times reprinted in the course of the sixteenth century.² The kind of material that Colin was looking for—short poems of amatory content—plays no very great part in the verses of either Strozzi, and hence his draught upon them could not in any case be so large as his draught upon Angeriano whose whole book has precisely this character. Of the eight pieces that he owes to them, seven are from the poems of the son.

The resulting French poems are mostly non-stanzaic and in a regular ten-syllable metre. Once, however, Colin turns his Latin source into a rondeau, and since the experiment is not uninteresting we may make this our justificatory example of his debt to the Strozzi. If I am not mistaken, rondeaux upon classical or neo-Latin subjects are something of a rarity, since the rondeau was on its way out just as the humanist themes were coming in. Ercole Strozzi's epigram is addressed to Lucrezia Borgia:

Any one who tries to look too long at the rays of the sun will be blinded; and he who gazed on the face of petrifying Medusa was transformed into rigid marble: but whoever admires thy face, Lady Borgia, becomes with the first look blind and then a stone, and presently like the tearful crag of Sypilus he weeps and (who would think it?) even in the rock still lives his mortal woe.

Si quis Apollineos perferre diutius igneis
Lumine tentarit, lumine captus erit.
Et qui saxificae conspexerat ora Medusae,
Mutato rigidum corpore marmor erat:
At quicumque tuos miratur, Borgia, vultus,
Fit primo intuitu caecus et inde lapis,

¹ MLN. LVII (1942), 260. Denais, *Un Emule de Clément Marot: Les Poésies de Germain Colin Bucher*, Paris, 1890.

² My references are to the Paris edition of 1530.

Moxque velut Sypli cautes lachrymosa madescit,
Vivit et in saxo (quis putet?) usque dolor.

Colin reverses the first two distichs of the Latin, taking Medusa before the Sun:

A Gylon

Sus tous vivantz d'humaine geniture,
Meduse avoit une estrange nature
Et ung regard de terrible efficace,
Car en voyant sa reluysante face
Elle muoit les gens en pierre dure.

Le cler soleil aussy de sa figure
Faict esblouir a tous la regardure;
Mais ta splendeur est encore l'outrepasse
Sus tous vivantz.

Car qui bien voit ta vifve pourtraicture,
Il s'aveuglist de premiere attraicture,
Puis devient pierre en bien petit d'espace
Où douleur vit. Dont viendrait tant de grace?
Fors que tu es parfaicte creature
Sus tous vivantz.

In the following index of Colin's borrowings from the Strozzi the first item is from an epigram by Tito Vespasiano, the rest from the epigrams of Ercole.

Amours alloit, armé (p. 95).
Combien qu'Amours (p. 99).
Cupido veit ung jour (p. 105).
Habites avecques toy (p. 116).
Quand Cupido cest (p. 129).
Si tu voulois (p. 130).
Tu me requers (p. 132).
Sus tous vivantz (p. 232).

Ibat Amor facibus (f. 253^r).
Parcite sopiti (f. 88^r).
Vidit Amor Lauram (f. 84^v).
Tecum habita (f. 88^v).
Dum Veneris puer (f. 92^r).
Si modo saviolum (f. 90^r).
Parva rogas, nostrae (f. 92^v).
Si quis Apollineos (f. 86^r).

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ENCORE LA "CABALE DE PHÈDRE": LEIBNIZ DU MAUVAIS CÔTÉ?

On sait combien ce grand philosophe, durant les années qu'il passa à Paris (de mars 1672 à octobre 1676, avec un voyage à Londres au cours de ce séjour), se familiarisa avec les mérites d'une civilisation qu'il s'agissait de faire apprécier à son propre pays.

Aussi, de retour en Allemagne, bibliothécaire du duc de Hanovre, Leibniz avait-il tenu à conserver à Paris des relations utiles: non seulement les personnages importants dont il se hâte de faire état dans sa lettre-programme au duc, mais des informateurs intellectuels (parmi lesquels Henri Justel, sur qui, ces dernières années, ont porté diverses recherches). L'entourage immédiat de Colbert, la jeune Académie des Sciences tiennent évidemment le premier rang parmi ces relations, cultivées en partie au bénéfice des mathématiques supérieures et des sciences appliquées au négoce et à la vie pratique.

Que valait, parmi ces intellectuels de fondation ou de rencontre, Frédéric Adolphe Hansen? C'était un Danois qui, chargé du préceptorat et sans doute de la conduite de trois jeunes nobles de son pays,¹ installé avec eux à l'hôtel de la Ville de Saint-Quentin rue Garancière, profitait de l'occasion pour augmenter, en plein quartier latin, ses propres connaissances en même temps qu'il se frottait au bon ton de Paris. Ce Reynaldo au service de quelques Polonius inconnus est pénétré de reconnaissance et de ravissement, à l'idée de renseigner "une des lumières de l'Europe" sur les éphémérides mémorables de la capitale française; plus tard, à la suite d'un voyage fait à Londres, lui aussi, il publiera quelques notes scientifiques dans une Gazette de Hollande. Peut-être qu'entre des curiosités savantes et quelque snobisme, si l'on peut dire, Hansen n'a pas perfectionné son goût littéraire à l'avenant. De l'orthographe, il serait bien peu élégant de lui demander compte. Sa première lettre à Leibniz, datée du 2/12 février 1617, débute par des nouvelles variées, puis, vers la fin, aborde l'actualité littéraire la plus brûlante, en se mettant, on va le voir, du côté des "cabalistes" de l'hôtel de Bouillon, comme si cela allait de soi:

Pour la Galanterie c'est toujours comme à l'ordinaire, il s'y fait plus de meschant livres que de bons: néanmoins deux Poëtes, dont l'un est Racine, qui vous est bien connu, et l'autre Pradon, qui avoit ci-devant fait jouer Pyrame et Thisbe à l'hôtel de Bourgogne, et qui eut beaucoup d'approbation pour une premiere: ces deux poëtes, dis-je, ont travaillé sur le même sujet, qui est Phoedre et Hyppolite, mais le dernière l'emporte sur Racine, quoique celui-ci fasse représenter sa piece à l'hôtel où sont les meilleurs acteurs, et celle de Pradon se jouë à l'hôtel de Guenegaud, et même les meilleurs acteurs de la troupe ne paroissent point sur le theatre. . .

¹ Son nom ne se trouve point parmi les innombrables Hansen du *Dansk biografisk Leksikon*. Nulle indication dans Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.

Nulle allusion à la location de la salle Guénégaud, assez voisine pourtant du gîte de notre épistolier; visiblement, il est plutôt le fidèle rapporteur d'une opinion toute faite que le témoin auriculaire de l'une et l'autre pièce: et faut-il que la tragédie de Racine, "qui vous est bien connu,"² soit inférieure à celle de Pradon, pour qu'en dépit d'une figuration inférieure, le protégé du duc de Nevers et de sa sœur ait si nettement l'avantage!³

Le 1er mars 1677, Hansen envoie à son illustre correspondant deux sonnets sur les mêmes rimes, l'un à Tircis, l'autre à Iris (réponse au premier), et il ajoute: "Je vous enverrai lundi prochain La critique avec la R[éponse] touchant Phaedre et Hyppolite de Mr Racine."

Huit jours plus tard en effet, sans faute, avec l'annonce de la mise en vente de la brochure chez Barbin, le rapporteur s'exécute: et il semble bien que son parti-pris déclaré ait privé la bibliothèque ducal d'une première édition qui, dans l'intervalle, aurait pris une certaine plus-value:

On acheva samedi passé Phœdre et Hyppolite de Mr Racine, il n'y en a, ce me semble, que sept feuilles, et le prix est un escu blanc, je permettrai bien que les autres payent la folle enchere, je l'aurai à l'avenir pour un prix plus proportionné. Je vous envoie presentement la critique du D. d. N. et la réponse, dont je vous ai parlé dans ma dernière.

Dans un fauteuil d'oré Phœdre tremblant, et bleme,
dit des vers où d'abord personne n'entend rien,
Sa nourrice lui fait un sermon fort Chretien
Contre l'affreux dessein d'attenter sur soimême.
Hyppolite la hait presque autant qu'elle l'aime,
Rien ne trouble son air ni son chaste maintien.
La nourrice l'accuse, et s'en punit bien.
Thesée a pour son fils, une rigueur extreme.
Une grosse Arrisie au teint rouge, au crin blond,
N'est la que pour montrer deux enormes tettons,
Que malgre sa froideur Hyppolite idolatre.
Il meurt enfin traisné par ses chevaux ingrats,
Et Phœdre apres avoir pris la mort aux rats,
Vient en se confessant mourir sur le theatre.

Allgemeiner politischer und historischer Briefwechsel. Darmstadt, 1927, tome II, à quoi ces textes sont empruntés.

² L'hypothèse d'une rencontre personnelle chez Colbert, ou même dans un milieu janséniste, ne saurait être tout à fait exclue. Cependant il semble bien s'agir plutôt de la notoriété de l'auteur d'*Andromaque*.

³ Cf. H. C. Lancaster, *French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Part IV, pp. 110-126, et son discours à la réunion de la MLAA à La Nouvelle-Orléans, reproduit dans *Adventures of a literary Historian*, Baltimore, 1942, pp. 9-13.

R.

Dans un Palais d'oré Damon, jaloux, et bleme,
 Fait des vers où jamais personne n'entend rien,
 Il n'est ni Courtisan, ni Guerrier, ni Chrestien,
 Et souvent pour rimer il se derobbe a soimême.
 Hippomene le hait beaucoup plus qu'il ne l'aime.
 Il a d'un franc Poëte l'air et le maintien.
 Il veut juger de tout, et n'en juge pas bien,
 Il a pour le Phoebus une tendresse extreme.
 Une sœur vagabonde au erin plus noir que blond
 Va par tout l'univers promener deux tettons,
 Dont, malgre son pays, Damon est Idolatre.
 Il se tue à rimer pour des lecteurs ingrats,
 L'Eneide pour lui est la mort aux rats,
 Et Pradon à son goût est le Dieu du Theatre.

Ces deux sonnets sont bien connus: ⁴ encore ont-ils, sous la plume maladroite du précepteur et avec ses graphies fantaisistes, une saveur assez corsée, et l'actrice visée, la grosse d'Hennebaut, faisant place, dans les bouts-rimés des partisans de Racine, à l'autoritaire Marie-Anne Mancini, duchesse de Bouillon, de qui son frère, le précieux duc de Nevers, passait pour être l'attentif, est plaisamment burlesque. On comprend qu'il y ait eu de l'irritation à l'hôtel de Bouillon, mais Hansen n'en parle pas. Il se contente d'annoncer, le 30 avril 1677, l'envoi de "la Dissertation ou critique qu'on a fait sur les Tragedies de Phœdre et Hyppolyte": ceci parmi des nouvelles d'Olivier, qui travaille mollement à la fameuse machine à calculer de Leibniz, ou des mentions d'Huet, du *Mercur galant*, et de Colletet. Il semble bien que la préciosité qui se survit à elle-même l'intéresse plus que le "grand style"...

Et c'est, pour le fond d'une grave question de biographie racinienne, une présomption à défaut d'un argument. La mauvaise humeur, allant jusqu'au découragement, dont Boileau tentait de guérir son ami à ce moment, sa décision chagrine de renoncer au théâtre, semblent vraiment s'expliquer bien plus par l'inintelligente partialité de ces "marquis" à l'inguérisable mauvais goût, que pour les raisons de scrupule religieux si souvent alléguées.

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⁴ Cf. G. Mongrédien. Une vieille querelle: Racine et Pradon (*Revue bleue*, 15 janvier 1921, p. 52). On trouvera dans cet article la plupart des leçons mal transcrites par notre Danois.

UNE CLEF DE SAINT-EVREMOND DANS UNE LETTRE
INÉDITE DE L'ABBÉ DE SAINT-PIERRE

Dans le deuxième volume des *Œuvres de Monsieur de Saint Evremond*, éditées par Desmaizeaux, on trouve un morceau intitulé: *Idée de la femme qui ne se trouve point, et qui ne se trouvera jamais*. C'est le portrait physique, intellectuel et moral d'Emilie, chez qui l'auteur a découvert les agréments et les mérites qui constituent pour lui la véritable perfection féminine: beauté régulière des traits, aisance gracieuse des gestes, justesse d'esprit et de propos, égalité d'humeur, vertu souriante, dévotion qui couronne sans les contrarier les obligations familiales et sociales. Ce portrait n'est-il qu'un jeu de l'imagination, ou bien aurait-il été dessiné d'après quelque modèle? La solution de ce petit problème se trouve dans une lettre inédite de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre à Desmaizeaux, conservée au British Museum (Additional Mss. 4287, fol. 166) que nous reproduisons ici, avec ses particularités d'orthographe.

à Paris au Palais Royal
22 novembre 1729

J'ai lu avec beaucoup de plaisir, Monsieur, les ouvrages de feu M. de St Evremond de l'édition dont vous avez pris soin.¹ Comme je suis de ses parens² vous avez un titre pour attendre de moi plus de reconnoissance que des autres lecteurs.

Je vous dirai meme à cette occasion une petite anecdote sur le petit ouvrage qui dans ses ouvrages a pour titre *Idée de la femme qui ne se trouve point*. Je l'ai vu en manuscrit en 1679 chez felle madame la marquise de Sebeville, sœur de ma mère,³ morte quinze ans auparavant. Il avoit alors pour titre *Portrait d'Emilie*. Elle me dit que M. de St Evremond l'avoit fait pour ma mère dans le tems qu'il venoit passer quelques semaines à Saint Pierre⁴ en sortant de Sebeville.

¹ Desmaizeaux avait publié, en collaboration avec Pierre Silvestre, une édition des *Œuvres mêlées* de Saint-Evremond (Londres, 1705, 2 vol., in-4). Enrichie ensuite d'additions, et d'une biographie de l'auteur en 1709, cette publication avait eu une quatrième édition à Amsterdam (5 vol., in-12) en 1726.

² Il s'agit d'une parenté éloignée. La mère de Saint-Evremond, Charlotte de Rouville, descendait par son père, Jacques de Rouville, d'une famille à laquelle était allié Richard Castel, bisaïeul de l'abbé.

³ Madeleine Gigault de Bellefonds, née en 1626, avait épousé en 1642 Charles Castel, baron de Saint-Pierre; elle mourut le 2 juin 1664.

⁴ Manoir familial situé à une courte distance du bourg de Saint Pierre l'Eglise.

Je ne vous aurois rien dit de ceci si je n'avois pas imaginé en relisant l'autre jour quelque chose de ses ouvrages que vous pourriez aussi faire imprimer à Londres quelques uns de mes ouvrages * et en faire ainsi part à la nation angloise à laquelle nous devons beaucoup de bons ouvrages. Madame la Comtesse de Sandwich * a bien voulu s'en charger. Si vous approuvez mon dessein je vous en enverrai encore d'autres. Je ne demande au libraire qu'un exemplaire.

J'ai l'honneur d'être Monsieur votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

L'abbé de Saint Pierre

G. BONNO

University of California

UNE LETTRE INÉDITE DE CONDORCET À JEAN-ROBERT TRONCHIN

Le manuscrit de la lettre qui suit se trouve à la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève, au fonds Tronchin, A. 87, No. 76, pages 285-288. Le Genevois Jean-Robert Tronchin (1702-1788), à qui elle est adressée, était fermier général à Paris depuis 1762. C'est lui qui fut le banquier du cardinal de Tencin, et à partir de 1754, de Voltaire.

Le père et l'oncle de Jean-Robert Tronchin avaient été les chefs des aristocrates qui ôtèrent au Conseil Général de Genève toute initiative en matière de législation, transformèrent le gouvernement démocratique de la République en une oligarchie et semèrent les germes des troubles civils dont Genève fut agitée jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Les Tronchin contemporains de Jean-Robert luttèrent leur vie durant pour maintenir et affermir les avantages conquis par la génération précédente. Comme la réponse de Condorcet le montre, Jean-Robert Tronchin servait à l'étranger la cause des patriciens et saisissait les occasions, bonnes ou mauvaises, de travailler à Paris l'opinion publique en leur faveur.

* L'abbé de Saint-Pierre préparait alors l'édition de ses *Œuvres diverses* qui parut à Paris, chez Briasson (2 vol. in-12) en 1730. Le projet d'une édition anglaise de ses œuvres, auquel il fait ici allusion, ne s'est pas réalisé.

* La comtesse de Sandwich, veuve d'un ancien partisan de Jacques II, tenait à Paris un salon où fréquentaient les Jacobites réfugiés en France.

Avant l'insurrection victorieuse de décembre 1792, les principaux soulèvements de la bourgeoisie pour recouvrer ses droits eurent lieu en 1707, en 1738, en 1766 (à la suite de la condamnation des ouvrages de Rousseau) et en 1782. Chaque fois, l'oligarchie au pouvoir obtint l'intervention militaire des trois puissances garantes, la France, Berne et Zurich, auxquelles la Sardaigne se joignit en 1782. En juin de cette année, six mille Français sous le marquis de Jaucourt, trois mille Piémontais sous le comte de la Marmora et deux mille Bernois sous le général Lentulus s'avancèrent jusqu'aux murs de Genève et menacèrent de détruire la ville avec leur artillerie. Les portes des remparts leur furent ouvertes le 2 juillet 1782 et la domination de l'aristocratie se trouva rétablie, sous la protection d'une garnison étrangère qui ne partit qu'en mai 1784.

Le marquis de Condorcet était alors dans le plein élan de sa période de propagande politique, qui commence vers 1776.

Notons que ses théories sur le gouvernement populaire furent accueillies avec plus d'indulgence sous l'Ancien Régime que sous la Terreur : la même ardeur dialectique dont cette lettre témoigne fut fatale à Condorcet en 1794. Les critiques qu'il fit de la Constitution de l'An I déplurent à Robespierre ; il fut poursuivi par le Comité de Salut public, et mourut dans la nuit qui suivit son arrestation (27 mars 1794), préférant, croit-on, le suicide à la guillotine.

[juillet 1782.]

Permettez-moi, Monsieur, de vous rappeler la promesse que vous m'avez faite de me donner une notice sur la vie de M. Tronchin.¹ Je serais fâché de ne pas pouvoir faire son éloge au mois de Novembre,² d'autant plus que suivant toute apparence cela le retarderait d'un an au moins.

J'ai reçu un livre *Constitutionnaire*, je vous en remercie, mais je ne

¹ Il s'agit du docteur Théodore Tronchin (1709-1781), devenu membre de l'Académie des Sciences en 1778.

² Condorcet prononça cet éloge le 16 novembre 1782. Voir les *Mémoires de Bachaumont* (Londres, John Adamson, 1783), xxi, 183-190 : " 13 Novembre. Relation de la séance de l'académie royale des sciences, tenue aujourd'hui mercredi pour la rentrée publique d'après la St. Martin. . . . Une anecdote que nous ignorions, c'est la faveur rare de son admission à l'académie, dont il étoit exclu de droit par les circonstances. En effet, comme protestant il ne pouvoit être reçu au rang des académiciens ordinaires ; comme attaché à M. le duc d'Orléans, il n'avoit pas de qualité pour être classé parmi les associés étrangers : cependant le désir de la compagnie de le posséder dans son sein, fit passer par-dessus la règle, et il fut reçu en 1778."

J'ai pas lu, et j'attendrai pour le lire que geneve soit tranquille. J'ai vu avec douleur en parcourant ce livre qu'on y regretait de n'avoir assassiné légalement que trois hommes en 1707, et cela m'a fait craindre pour 1782. J'ai été blessé aussi de voir que les magistrats devaient être autre chose que les commis du peuple. J'avoue que je n'ai jamais rien imaginé de plus grand que d'être choisi par une nation pour veiller sur ses interets. D'ailleurs cela n'est pas adroit. M. hennin,³ commis de M. de vergennes,⁴ trouvera-t-il bon que les magistrats de geneve ne veuillent pas être commis? francklin, vasingthon, laurence sont les commis des planteurs d'amérique, et les membres du Senat britannique sont commis d'un bourg ou d'une comté! Tous ces gens-là trouveront vos magistrats bien fiers. On pourrait dire, si ce n'était pas une espece de blasphème, que M. le comte de Vergennes lui même, étant revocable à volonté, n'est que le commis du roi de france.

J'espere cependant que tout ira bien; M. de Jaucourt⁵ établira dans geneve la paix et l'opera comique; ⁶ vos Dames et surtout vos Messieurs seront bientôt excedés de la galanterie française, savoiarde et suisse,⁷ et, si jamais il venait de nouvelles querelles, on fera lire en plein Conseil la fable du jardinier et son seigneur⁸ et tout s'apaisera.

Ne pendez du moins qu'aussi peu qu'il sera possible en conservant la dignité du petit Conseil,⁹ du roi de france, des illustres cantons, et du

³ Pierre Michel Hennin (1728-1807), résident français à Genève de 1766 à 1778, premier commis aux Affaires Etrangères de 1778 à 1782.

⁴ Charles de Vergennes (1717-1787), ministre des Affaires Etrangères sous Louis XVI.

⁵ Le marquis de Jaucourt commandait les troupes françaises.

⁶ Malgré les efforts de Voltaire, le théâtre restait interdit à Genève. En 1766, lorsque les troupes françaises vinrent au secours des magistrats genevois, le chevalier de Beauteville, qui commandait la garnison, exigea et obtint l'introduction d'une troupe de comédiens dans la ville. Mais dès le départ des troupes d'occupation, le Conseil ordonna aux comédiens de quitter Genève, et, dans la nuit du 29 au 30 janvier 1768, le théâtre, incendié par des inconnus, brûla sans que personne voulût y porter secours.

⁷ Genève, à cette époque-là, n'était pas suisse. Elle n'entra dans la Confédération qu'en 1815. Au XVIIIe siècle, de même que Mulhouse, la République de Genève avait seulement un traité d'alliance avec Berne et Zurich.

⁸ La Fontaine, *Fables*, IV, 4.

⁹ Le Conseil Général, composé de la totalité des citoyens (environ 1500 membres), élisait le Grand Conseil (les Deux-Cents), puis, de ce nombre, le Conseil des Soixante, et, de ces derniers, le Petit Conseil, ou Conseil des Vingt-Cinq. En principe, le Souverain était le Conseil Général, dont les Vingt-Cinq étaient les ministres. En réalité, les Vingt-Cinq avaient saisi le pouvoir. Ainsi, le Conseil Général gardait bien le droit d'élire les trois Conseils; mais le Petit Conseil fournissait la liste des candidats: pour quatre postes vacants aux Vingt-Cinq, il donnait six noms.

bienheureux victor,¹⁰ afin que les gens qui ont de l'humanité puissent dire de nos soldats

qu' Ils ont tous fait en dépit de vos Saints
Plus de batards encore (*sic*) que d'orphelins¹¹

Come il [est] fort question de démagogues dans le livre *Constitutionnaire*, j'ai cherché ce mot dans mon dictionnaire, il signifie *qui conduit le peuple*, ainsi voilà vos négatifs¹² redevenus démagogues, et ne différant des autres qu'en ce que les expulsés conduisaient le peuple par des argumens, et que ceux-ci le conduiront entre deux rangs de baionettes francaises.

Pardonnez-moi, Monsieur, le faible que j'ai pour les gouvernemens démocratiques, pour ceux où règne l'égalité, et où tous les droits des hommes sont conservés. Ce gout n'est pas fondé sur des lumières fort étendues, mais il est absolument désintéressé; et je ne puis souffrir qu'on dise à une classe d'hommes quelconque qu'elle n'est pas digne de soutenir ses droits et de les exercer. Si jamais je lis le livre *Constitutionnaire* je commencerai par effacer l'épigraphe.

Agreez, je vous supplie, Monsieur, les assurances de mon attachement et de mon respect.

Les natifs¹³ attachés au gouvernement s'appellent donc les cornualistes. C'est apparemment une prophétie sur l'arrivée de la garnison francaise.

¹⁰ Victor-Amédée III (1726-1796), roi de Piémont.

¹¹ Voltaire, *La Pucelle*, chant I.

¹² Les citoyens, dans les intervalles où ils ne prenaient pas les armes pour revendiquer leurs droits, protestaient assidûment auprès des magistrats, par des *représentations*, contre les abus de pouvoir de l'aristocratie; celle-ci, qui se perpétuait au pouvoir, *unguibus et rostris*, dans le Conseil exécutif des Vingt-Cinq ou Petit-Conseil, répondait invariablement à ces représentations d'une manière négative; d'où les noms courants des partis "négatifs" et "représentants."

¹³ Il y avait à Genève, outre les citoyens, divisés en deux camps, "Négatifs" et "Représentants," la masse des "Natifs," qui formaient les trois quarts de la population de la ville; ils n'avaient aucun droit politique, ne pouvaient ni se livrer au commerce, ni exercer une profession libérale, ni être élus jurés dans les maîtrises, ni parvenir à un grade militaire. Ils trouvèrent en la personne d'Isaac Cornuaud un défenseur habile, qui fit d'eux un parti redoutable; alliés aux "Représentants," ils forcèrent le gouvernement à se retirer, en avril 1782. (Voir les *Mémoires d'Isaac Cornuaud sur Genève et la Révolution de 1770 à 1795*, publiés par Emilie Cherbuliez, Genève, 1912.)

[de la main de Jean-Robert Tronchin]: reçu 20 juillet 1782

Mr de
Condorcet

Adresse:

A Monsieur
Monsieur Tronchin chez
M. Deodati rue de la Michodière
près le boulevard.

3 pages autographes in 8° sans signature;
l'adresse sur la 4e, ainsi que la date de la main
de Jean-Robert Tronchin.

ANDRÉ DELATTRE

Wayne University

A NOTE ON THE 1752 TEXT OF *LETTRES
PHILOSOPHIQUES*

In his edition of Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques*, Gustave Lanson noted three paragraphs which had been added in later editions to Letter XI, *Sur l'insertion de la petite vérole*. As to the dates of their addition he follows Beuchot¹ in stating that the first of the three was added in 1752² while the other two did not appear until 1756.³ Lanson goes on to state in his *Commentaires* to this letter⁴ that the two final paragraphs must have been added in 1756, since they were borrowed from a *Recueil de pièces concernant l'inoculation de la petite vérole* which did not appear until April of that year. This *Recueil* included, *Abrégé de la fondation faite à Londres en 1746 pour l'inoculation, avec une partie du sermon prêché en 1752 par Milord Isaac, évêque de Worcester, dans l'église paroissiale de cet hospital*.⁵ Voltaire quotes the Bishop, *ergo*.

But this neat bibliographical picture is disturbed by the notice of Voltaire's Dresden edition of his works which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1753,⁶ quoting in translation the additions made to Letter XI. This translation goes beyond the

¹ See notes, Moland, xxii, 115.

² *Œuvres*, Dresden, Walther.

³ Genève, Cramer.

⁴ #39, I, 150.

⁵ The sermon is probably: *A sermon preached before the president, vice-president and governors of the hospital for the smallpox, and for inoculation, on March 5, 1752. By Isaac Ld. Bp. of Worcester.* London, Woodfall. See, *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxii, 195, April, 1752.

⁶ xxiii, 251.

first paragraph and quotes the good Bishop. A comparison of texts, which I append, will show what is meant. The text is so close to Voltaire's that I do not think it can be viewed as an editor's addition, nor does it seem likely that anyone but a translator would have qualified the Bishop of Worcester as, "A diocesan in England."

It would seem that there were variant copies of the 1752 edition which neither Beuchot nor Lanson had seen.

Gustave Lanson, *Lettres Philosophiques*, 4th ed., 1930, I, 136, note.

52—*K ajoutent cet alinéa:*

Il y a quelques années qu'un missionnaire jésuite ayant lû cette lettre (56-K ce chapitre, *K errata t. LXX*, p. 500, cet article) et se trouvant dans un canton de l'Amérique où la petite vérole faisait (56-K exerçait) des ravages affreux, s'avisa de faire inoculer tous les petits sauvages qu'il batisoit; ils lui durent ainsi la vie présente et la vie éternelle: quels dons pour les sauvages!

Après sauvages, 56-K ajoutent ces deux alinéas

Un Evêque de Worcester a depuis peu prêché à Londres l'inoculation; il a démontré en Citoyen combien cette pratique avoit conservé de sujets à l'Etat; il l'a recommandée en Pasteur charitable. On prêcherait à Paris contre cette invention salutaire, comme on a écrit vingt ans contre les expériences de Neuton: Il faut bien du tems pour qu'une certaine raison et un certain courage d'esprit franchissent le pas de Calais.

Il ne faut pourtant pas s'imaginer . . . c'est la marche ordinaire de l'esprit humain.

Gentleman's Magazine, xxiii, 251, May, 1753

A new edition of the works of Voltaire corrected and much enlarged by the author, has been lately printed at *Dresden*, among other additions is the following to the chapter on inoculation:

A Jesuit missionary having some years ago read this chapter during his residence in a certain canton of America, where the smallpox made a dreadful havoc, caused all the children whom he baptised to be inoculated, and this became an instrument by which providence gave to these poor Indians temporal and eternal life.

(*same paragraph*)

The Bp of Worcester, a diocesan in England, has also since the first edition of this work, recommended inoculation from the pulpit like a good subject and compassionate pastor. In France they have preached against it, as they did 20 years against Newton's experiments.

In any case, Voltaire knew of the Bishop of Worcester's sermon long before 1756. On October 3, 1753, he writes to D'Argental:

L'année passée, l'évêque de Worcester prêcha dans Londres, devant le parlement, en faveur de l'inoculation, et prouva qu'elle sauvait la vie tous les ans à deux mille personnes dans cette capitale. Voilà des sermons qui valent bien mieux que les bavarderies de nos prédicateurs.⁷

ROGER B. OAKE.

Princeton University

VOLTAIRE NEVER SAID IT!

Until the eleventh edition of Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* (1937, p. 1053) somewhat hesitantly established its origin, many looked in vain through Voltaire's writings for the immortal and often-quoted sentence:

I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.

After identifying the quotation as "Voltaire to Helvetius," Bartlett states that it is not found verbatim in Voltaire's works but seems rather to have originated in *The Friends of Voltaire* by S. G. Tallentyre (London, 1906, p. 199). This is in fact true; it might be added that the same quotation is again found in the same author's *Voltaire in His Letters* (1919, p. 65) this time improved in wording:

I wholly disapprove of what you say—and will defend to the death your right to say it.

A letter I have received from S. G. Tallentyre (really Miss Evelyn Beatrice Hall) under the date of May 9, 1939, confirms once and for all the fact that she invented the phrase:

Dear Sir:

I am much obliged for your letter of April 25th—it is certainly no bother to me. The phrase "I wholly disapprove of what you say and will defend to the death your right to say it" which you have found in my book "Voltaire in His Letters" is *my own* expression and should not have been put in inverted commas. Please accept my apologies for having, quite unintentionally, misled you into thinking I was quoting a sentence

⁷ Moland, xxxviii, 131.

used by Voltaire (or anyone else but myself). I am surprised my books on Voltaire still find a few readers—I thought I was quite a back number—

Yours very truly

(Miss) E. Beatrice Hall

S. G. Tallentyre

The words "*my own*" were underlined by Miss Hall.

BURDETTE KINNE

Columbia University

LA VÉRACITÉ DE CHATEAUBRIAND: PREMIERS DOUTES BRITANNIQUES (1813)

Les "premiers doutes" imprimés, tout au moins: car s'il est vrai que les élèves de M. de Combourg, à Bungay et à Beccles, l'avaient surnommé *Shatterbrain*, le mélange séduisant de fantaisie et de sérieux de notre Breton avait déjà amusé quelques gentilles provinciales. Mais voici qui est plus grave.

La traduction anglaise du *Génie du Christianisme*¹ par Frederick Shoberl n'était pas lancée depuis six mois sous un titre, *The Beauties of Christianity*, qui rappelait les premières intentions de l'auteur à Londres, que le *Gentleman's Magazine* d'août 1813 (p. 110) publiait ces lignes:

Oxon, June 17.

F. A. de Chateaubriand, in Book v, Chapter 10 of the "*Beauties of Christianity*," asserts that

On the banks of the Yare, a small river in the county of Suffolk, we were shown a very curious species of Cress: it changes its place, and advances, as it were, by leaps and bounds. From its summit descend several fibres; when those which happen to be at one extremity of the plant are of sufficient length to reach the bottom of the water, they take root. Drawn away by the action of the plant, which settles upon its new foot, the claws on the contrary side loose their hold; and the tuft of Cresses, turning on its pivot, removes the whole length of its bed. In vain

¹ Le traducteur, Fred. Shoberl (1775-1853), fils d'un Allemand mais né à Londres, polygraphe abondant et traducteur du français et de l'allemand. Il est probable que le premier témoignage connu sur Chateaubriand en pays germanique soit de lui dans une lettre de Londres au *Neuer Teutscher Merkur* que j'ai citée jadis dans *Etudes d'Histoire littéraire*, tome II, p. 108. Il devait, en 1814, devenir co-propriétaire du *New Monthly Magazine*.

you seek the plant on the morrow in the place where you left it the preceding night, and you perceive it higher up or lower down the current of the river, producing, with the other aquatic families, new effects and new beauties. We have seen neither the flower nor the fructification of this singular species of Cress, to which we have given the name of Migratory, or the Traveller.

A note upon this passage is, that

"None of the Naturalists consulted upon this subject have verified the description of this curious species of Cress."

The Yare, I think, is in Norfolk. It will allow some of your Readers on the banks of it to give some information on the subject, if you can insert this account now while the Cresses are in blow; as a plant having the power of detaching itself from its original *habitat*, and occupying a fast spot, is, I imagine, unknown to any Botanist.

A NEW CORRESPONDENT.

Il ne semble pas, hélas! que malgré la saison favorable à l'observation du phénomène, et en dépit de la légère correction géographique restituant à son vrai comté la chère rivière que traversait souvent le maître de français de Bungay, des observations favorables aient été faites. Du moins les années subséquentes du périodique si répandu ne semblent rien contenir d'afférent à ce problème, le caractère migrateur du cresson. *Nasturtium migrator* ne devint point, malgré le souhait si caractéristique du botaniste amateur, une sous-espèce du "cresson de rivière"; et par conséquent l'instinct vagabond que le nostalgique voyageur trouvait présent dans cet humble végétal ne s'ajouta point aux beautés reconnues de la religion chrétienne.

Qui était le contradicteur de Chateaubriand? Il me semble que rien n'empêche de démasquer, en ce "nouveau correspondant," à la fois soucieux de géographie exacte et de botanique réaliste, Robert Browne lui-même (1773-1858). De retour en 1805 d'une de ses nombreuses explorations, il devait être président de la "Linnean Society" et, parmi d'innombrables études, en consacrer une à "the Propagation of sea-weed" qui peut-être rappella à sa mémoire la petite semonce, pas bien méchante, qu'il avait administrée à la rêverie botanique du Français.

Pas bien méchante, mais peut-être de plus d'importance à venir qu'il ne pourrait sembler, s'il est vrai que de petites causes peuvent produire des effets assez grands. Le *Gentleman's Magazine*, après avoir accueilli favorablement quelques-uns des pamphlets politiques de Chateaubriand, ne fit pas très bon accueil à sa présence à Londres

comme ambassadeur de S. M. Très Chrétienne, et l'on peut se demander si l' "archéologue" Nichols, devenu le rédacteur en chef d'un périodique fort répandu, ne jugeait pas le diplomate français sur le souvenir de cette infime démonstration de . . . romantisme végétal.

FERNAND BALDENSBERGER

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ZOLA'S FINAL REVISIONS OF *LA JOIE DE VIVRE*

In the library of Harvard College is a first edition (Charpentier-Fasquelle, 1884) of Émile Zola's *La Joie de vivre*, corrected in the author's own hand in view of succeeding editions. This volume is of real value to American students of naturalism, since primary sources for the study of Zola's methods—manuscripts, first drafts, documents, etc.—are very rare everywhere except in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is of interest also since *La Joie de vivre*, written during the years 1880-1884, marks almost the mid-point of Zola's career. The revisions it contains give some insight into the methods of the Zola who had now reached maturity but who still sought to perfect his literary instrument, the Zola who had produced the *tour de force* of *L'Assommoir*, but who had yet to attain the simplicity and dignity of expression of *Germinal* and *La Terre*.

In this corrected edition of *La Joie de vivre*, one point is especially to be emphasized: in all cases the corrections or changes bear on questions of stylistic detail; no extended revision is attempted and no re-arrangement of a chapter or even of a full page is evident. The revisions number about two hundred fifty and range from changes in individual words or phrases to additions or deletions of whole sentences. The changes and corrections are fairly well distributed throughout the entire novel, but three chapters especially seem to have received more than usual attention, if we are to judge by the number of revisions they contain. Chapter VI, recounting the death of Mme Chanteau, mother of the hero, Lazare, has more changes than any other. This chapter is based on the life of Zola himself¹ and the frequent corrections it contains indi-

¹ *La Joie de vivre, Œuvres Complètes d'Émile Zola*, ed. Le Blond (Paris: Bernouard, 1927-29), XIII, 364 (note of M. Le Blond).

cate that Zola considered it the 'scène à faire' of the work. The following chapter, VII, which contains the account of Lazare's sufferings after the death of his mother, and which also seems to be largely autobiographical in character,² has the second largest number of changes and corrections. Finally, the scene of the accouchement of Louise, Lazare's wife, a scene which is easily the most striking of the work, has the third largest number of revisions.

More than half the total number of revisions were made by Zola for the purpose of improving the expression by making it more brief, clear, or exact. Often these changes are so slight as to be mere deletions of single words, usually of small importance in the phrase (bien, alors, peu à peu, plutôt). Occasionally rhetorical weaknesses are remedied by simple substitutions of words, as here, where the ellipsis is eliminated: "... le jeune homme ... se croyait parfois près de rentrer dans les heureux contes de nourrice, où l'on n'a plus peur," which is changed to: "... le jeune homme ... se croyait parfois près de rentrer dans l'heureux âge d'innocence, où l'on n'a peur" (p. 256). Again: "... elle eut la maladresse de faire une allusion à la fortune de Louise et de laisser entendre que son beau-père, le lendemain, lui trouverait une situation," which becomes: "... elle eut la maladresse de faire une allusion à la fortune de Louise et de laisser entendre que Thibaudier, le lendemain du mariage, trouverait pour son gendre une situation" (p. 320). Taken as a whole, such revisions, even though short, are important indications of Zola's realistic and logical tendencies.

About two-score changes seem to have been made for the purpose of providing more striking and vivid expression in certain phrases. Some of these changes, again, are short, as the phrase: "... la peur de Saccard prenait Chanteau," which is changed to: "... la peur de Saccard travaillait Chanteau" (p. 105); or the words of the abbé: "... je vais mettre ma soutane," which become: "... je vais passer ma soutane" (p. 257). Occasionally a longer change is introduced, as here: "Lazare l'écoutait plein de surprise. Il n'avait pas songé à cette contradiction, il s'étonnait des sensations opposées et inexplicables qu'il découvrait en lui." In the revision the first sentence remains the same, but the other is changed as

² See my article, "Autobiographical Elements in Zola's *La Joie de vivre*," *PMLA*, LVI (Dec., 1941), 1133-49.

follows: "Il n'avait pas songé à cette contradiction, pourquoi ces façons de sentir différentes et illogiques?" (p. 216). This latter example, it may be noted, provides an excellent illustration of Zola's effective use of the forms of direct discourse in a context of indirect narration or description. There are several other instances of this kind of improvement; for example, the sentence: "Mais pour manger, les fruits ne suffisent pas" (p. 364) is changed from this rather pallid form to the following: "Mais pour manger, toujours des fruits, c'est maigre."

There are in addition a few scattered changes made for the improvement of the rhythm of certain phrases, some deletions of repetitions and pleonasm, and some attempts at the correction of lapsi of various kinds. It is notable that changes to improve the euphony of a phrase or sentence are extremely rare.

These revisions indicate that Zola was primarily interested in the creation of a simple, logical prose which should have as its principal aim the exact expression of his thought. He evidently was not much concerned with the construction of prose that should be harmonious to the ear, if we are to judge by the small number of changes made for the sole purpose of improving the euphony, rhythm, and movement of the phrase. Quite evidently, he lacked Flaubert's test of the 'gueuloir'.³ His prose, it would seem, was designed solely to express ideas, not to strike and impress with its sound and color and movement. Here, as in all his work, Zola's intellectual qualities of logic and order prevail completely over the more purely artistic.

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THE EARLY DATE FOR MARLOWE'S *FAUSTUS*

The recent view that Marlowe's *Faustus* was not written until 1592 rests mainly on the argument that the English Faust Book,

³ The comparison with Flaubert may be carried further. Émile Faguet in his "Les Corrections de Flaubert" (*Propos Littéraires*, III) notes that Flaubert *always* corrects by suppression (Zola does not, for additions are almost as common as deletions and simple changes are more frequent than either); and that some of Flaubert's corrections to *Madame Bovary* include as many as eight or ten lines. Zola's corrections rarely run to more than a single line or at most two lines.

Marlowe's source, cannot be shown to have been published in any previous year. To the evidence which I have elsewhere brought against this argument and in favor of a date *c.* 1589 I should like to add the reminder that Gabriel Harvey's *An Aduertisement for Papp-hatchett*, dated by him "At Trinitie hall: this fift of Nouember: 1589,"¹ makes reference to Faustus:

As for that new-created Spirite, whom double V. like an other Doctour Faustus, threateneth to coniure-upp at leysure, (for I must returne to the terrible creature, that subscribeth himselfe Martins Double V. and will needes also be my Tittle-tittle) were that Spirite disposed to appeare in his former likenesse, and to put the Necromancer to his purgation, he could peraduenture make the coniuring wisard forsake the center of his Circle.²

This was Harvey's retort to a passing stroke dealt him in the anti-Martinist tract *Pappe With An Hatchet* by John Lyly, who signed himself Double V. (W, double you, a match for two of you, as Bond explains). The spirit whom Lyly had threatened to conjure up was Harvey himself.

Here, then, is a reference to Faustus definitely prior to November 5, 1589. Now we must ask, as in the case of a similar reference to Faustus in Henry Holland's *A Treatise Against Witchcraft* (1590),³ whether the reference is to Marlowe's play, or to the original German Faustbuch published at Frankfort in 1587, or to *A Ballad of the life and death of Doctor Faustus* entered in the Stationers' Register on February 28, 1589, now lost and of unknown content, or to the English Faust Book.

We may reject as improbable the alternatives that the allusion is to the ballad or to Marlowe's play. No doubt the ballad was

¹ Although written at this time it was not published until its incorporation *verbatim* into Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593. See McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, v, 74, 92.

² Grosart, *Works of Gabriel Harvey*, II, 209. The entire *Aduertisement for Papp-Hatchett* comprises pages 124 to 221, the place and date of composition being subscribed on the latter page.

³ Discussed in my paper "The English Faust Book and the Date of Marlowe's *Faustus*," *MLN.*, LV (1940), 95-101. Since the Holland and Harvey references to Faustus are in many ways analogous and the method to be adopted in interpreting them is the same, I shall not repeat the full argument here but refer the reader to the earlier paper. See also "Some Nashe Marginalia Concerning Marlowe," *MLN.*, LVII (1942), 45-9.

one of the ephemeral single-sheet broadsides issued so prodigally in London. Harvey at Cambridge is not likely to have seen it or to have thought it worth citing even if he had. The case is less clear with regard to Marlowe's play, which Harvey might have made a point of hearing on some visit to London, but no such visit is recorded and on the whole Harvey does not seem to have been much of a playgoer. Moreover, the existence of another reference to *Faustus* by Harvey which is pretty clearly to the English *Faust Book*, as noted below, renders it probable that the present reference is to the same work. Of course, if the reference were to Marlowe's work, the composition of the play in 1589 or earlier would be established without more ado.

Against the possibility that Harvey had in mind the German *Faustbuch* is the reasonable certainty that, like almost all other Elizabethans, he could not read German. His voluminous marginalia, edited by G. C. Moore-Smith, contain frequent entries in Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, and Italian but not one word in German,⁴ and Harvey is not known either to have owned any book in that language or even to have alluded to any. In fact, we find him reading Braunschweig's medical treatise in an English translation.

We are left with the high probability that the reference is to the English *Faust Book*. This is further heightened by the fact, noted by Hale Moore,⁵ that about 1590 Harvey wrote in his copy of Frontinus' *Strategematicon* another marginal allusion to the great conjurer:

... if Doctor Faustus cowlde reare Castles, & arme Diuels at pleasure: what woonderful, & monstrous exploits, might be acheuid by such terrible meanes.

Since the feats of *Faustus* here mentioned are described in chapters XL and LII of the English *Faust Book* but not in the play Marlowe wrote, and since the arguments already presented forbid the view that Harvey knew the German *Faustbuch*, the ballad, or the play, our conclusion is clear. Both of Harvey's allusions to *Faustus* came from the same source, the English *Faust Book*. And so specifically does the latter allusion point to exploits detailed in

⁴ The same observation holds good for the additional marginalia published by Caroline Ruutz-Rees, "Some Notes of Gabriel Harvey's in Hoby's Translation of Castiglione's *Courtier*," *PMLA.*, xxv (1910), 608-39.

⁵ Gabriel Harvey's References to Marlowe," *SP.*, xxiii (1926), 337-57.

the Faust Book that it is impossible, I think, to argue that in either case Harvey had in mind merely a general tradition about Faustus not drawn from any particular publication, even if such a tradition could be shown to have been current in England before the English Faust Book. As a matter of fact there is not a scintilla of evidence that Englishmen had previously even heard of the German magician.

We are, I believe, driven by multiplying signs more and more powerfully to the inference that the English Faust Book was first published at least as early as 1589. Each sign affords only a probability, but many probabilities converge to make one certainty, at least such certainty as it is given us to achieve about the facts of three hundred and fifty years ago.

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FERDINANDO FRECKLETON AND THE SPENSER CIRCLE

Edmund Spenser's relationship to the Spencers of Althorpe, acknowledged on both sides in his lifetime, has been extended of late to include the family of his wife, Elizabeth Boyle. She was distantly related to the family of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe,¹ and was the first cousin of Erasmus Dryden, traditionally an acquaintance of the poet.² These facts give additional relevance to a document cited, in another connection, by Joseph Hunter in *Chorus Vatum*. Hunter is concerned only with evidence of the friendship between the Drydens and the Spencers; probably of greater interest to-day is the mention of one Ferdinando Freckleton, since we know now that a person of that name married the widow Joan Boyle, mother of Elizabeth Boyle.³ Hunter's note relates a business trans-

¹ Ray Heffner, "Edmund Spenser's Family," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, II (1938-39), 79-84.

² W. H. Weply, in *Notes and Queries*, CLXII (1932), 166, 185, *et passim*.

³ W. H. Weply's study of the lawsuit brought by Edmund Spenser, his wife, and his wife's brother against Thomas Emyly and John Mathewe established the fact. More important, of course, is the evidence of the suit for Spenser's marriage and for the family relationships of his wife. See *Notes and Queries*, CXLVI (1924), 445-7; CLXII (1932), 165-9; 182-7.

action involving Freckleton, the Drydens, and Sir John Spencer, the brother of the ladies to whom Spenser dedicated poems in the *Complaints* volume:

To show that there was a friendship between the Spencers of Althorpe and the Drydens of the time of Edmund Spenser may be cited a Bond remaining in the Exchequer of George Dryden of Adson alias Adneston co. Northamp. gent.—Whereas Ferdinando Freckleton of Huntingdon gent became bound to me 25 Oct. 28 Eliz. in 200 £ to secure 100 £; and Whereas Sir John Spencer of Althorpe Kt is indebted to the Queen in divers sums of money—to assign Freckleton's bond on security in behalf of Sir John Spencer—28 April 34 Eliz. 1592.⁴

Before commenting on the identity of Ferdinando Freckleton, another item concerning a person of that name may be added to the record. Among the complimentary verses prefixed to Richard Tarleton's *Tragical Treatises* (1578) is a poem of three stanzas headed: "Ferdinando Freckleton Gentleman, in praise of these treatises." Only a fragmentary copy of the *Treatises*, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, is known to have survived. Freckleton's verses contain no apparent biographical clues; they are conventional praises, concluding with admiration of Tarleton's ability to apply his talents to the grave as well as to the gay:

And where I lookte for manie a wanton drifte,
of tales and ridles in this booke of thine,
Nowe do I see thou canste bestow thy gifte
in grauer geere both learned and diuine,
For (trust me *Tarleton*) in thy worke appears,
A platforme that both sense and matter learns.

Is the Ferdinando Freckleton of either, or both, of these references the gentleman who married the widow Joan Boyle, Elizabeth Boyle's mother? The first reference would bring him into acquaintance with the Drydens, friends of the poet, and, less probably, with the Spencers; the second would allow him a modest connection with the versifiers, if not the poets, of his day. A conclusive identification, on the basis of accessible information, does not appear to be possible. Mr. Douglas Hamer⁵ has provided us with a useful list

⁴ *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum*, British Museum Add. MS. 24490, vol. iv, p. 472 [251^v]. A photostat is in the Library of Congress. Hunter's handwriting is difficult to read, and the transcription of the symbols after *Althorpe* (read as *Kt*) and after *money* (read as *to*) is uncertain.

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, CLXII (1932), 209-210, 231. See also R. B. Adams, *Notes and Queries*, CLIII (1927), 88; CLXII (1932), 265-6.

of records relating to persons named Ferdinando Freckleton, in addition to three references originally cited by Mr. Welply;⁶ and still other records have been generously put at my disposal by Mr. Mark Eccles. A comparative study shows that all these references clearly do not concern the same person, but involve several persons named Ferdinando Freckleton. The records too often lack details of place, or of date, or of family connections to permit a completely satisfactory grouping, although several definitely refer to persons other than Joan Boyle's husband and can be eliminated from further consideration. The "Ferdinando Freckleton of Huntingdon gent" of Hunter's note is, very probably, the stepfather of Elizabeth Boyle. The identity of the Ferdinando Freckleton who wrote complimentary verses for Tarleton's *Treatises* is, in the present state of our information, simply a matter of guesswork. Very likely he is the Oxford scholar who took his B. A. on 4 April, 1573,⁷ but this plausible guess does nothing toward establishing the identity of the scholar and poet with "Ferdinando Freckleton of Huntingdon gent."

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THE TELESCOPE AND THE COMIC IMAGINATION

On the day Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610) appeared, Sir Henry Wotton remarked that the author was doomed to be "exceeding famous or exceeding ridiculous."¹ One of the first English writers to make the wrong guess was the Cambridge playwright Thomas Tomkis. In his *Albumazar* (1615), I, iii, Ronca, one of the astrologer's confederates, tries to impress his dupe, the elderly Pandolfo, with the miracles which the astrologer can perform. As evidence, Ronca exhibits Albumazar's perspicill—"An engine to catch starres, / A mase t'arrest such Planets as haue lurk't / Foure thousand yeares vnder protection / of *Iupiter* and *Sol*."² Although

⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁷ *Alumni Oxonienses*, II, 532, cited by Douglas Hamer, *Notes and Queries*, CLXII (1932), 209.

¹ Logan Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford, 1907), I, 487.

² *Albumazar* (1615; STC No. 24100), sigs. B2v-B4r. None of the satiric

the perspicill is always described fancifully, a telescope is clearly meant.³ With it Ronca claims he can read the *Iliad* in a nutshell twelve miles off and gaze into the Vatican. The instrument, he says, "will draw the Moone so neere that you would sweare / The bush of thornes in't prick your eyes" (B4^r).

So far the comic element is slight: the charlatan has merely described the miraculous "engine" and made preposterous claims for its powers. But put this passage beside the *Sidereus Nuncius*, and a second, more elaborate kind of comedy appears, for Tomkis's charlatan does precisely what Galileo did. After a few preliminary pages in the *Nuncius*, Galileo describes his *perspicillum* (a term which Tomkis first anglicized) and emphasizes its miraculous powers rather more than its exact structure.⁴ He then turns at once to his lunar discoveries, which must have seemed to his contemporaries as fantastic as drawing "the Moone so neere that you would sweare / The bush of thornes in't prick your eyes." For he saw what no man had ever seen—that the moon was not the perfectly smooth, though spotted orb which the philosophers had promised, but that the spots were vast mountains, craters, and valleys scarring the surface of the globe.⁵

But by two devices Tomkis pushes his satire further still. First, Ronca keeps telling Pandolfo of the wonders visible through the perspicill; yet, when Pandolfo looks, though he has the illusion of strange sights, he actually sees only what is right before him—the audience, then some of the actors representing Tom Coryate and his porters loaded with "obseruations / Of *Asia* and *Affrick*" (B4^v). In other words, what is wonderful in the sights Pandolfo sees is all in his mind, not in the world of reality. Secondly, the astrologer

material here discussed appears in Tomkis's source, G. B. della Porta's *Lo Astrologo* (Venice, 1606).

³ "The Chrystall / Of a large Arch multiplie's millions, / Worke's more then by poynt blanke," Ronca explains (B4^r); and, although *arch* has never been defined as synonymous with *telescope*, telescopic powers are certainly implied. In other words, Tomkis is not referring vaguely to such magical glasses as those described in Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. Montague Summers (1930), pp. 178-79; nor to such magical mirrors as those to be used on the stage by Middleton in *A Game of Chesse* (1624) and by Rowley in *A Shoo-maker a Gentleman* (1638).

⁴ *Opere* (Milano, 1808-11), iv, 305-09.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, 309-27, especially pp. 309-10.

has another device, his otacousticon, pointedly modelled after the perspicill and extending the powers of hearing as the telescope does those of sight. Pandolfo is equally taken with this contraption and, after some beseeching, is allowed to put it on. It turns out to be an elongated pair of ass's ears⁶—fit wear, Tomkis seems to say, for the gulls who believe in such "engines."

In the next scene but one (I, v) Albumazar, the astrologer himself, swaggers in with the name of Galileo on his lips.

Ronca, the bunch of planets new found out
Hanging at th'end of my best Perspicill,
Send them to Galilao at *Padua*;
Let him bestow them where hee please. But th' starres
Lately discouered 'twixt the hornes of *Aries*,
Are as a present for *Pandolfo's* marriage,
And henceforth stil'd *Sidera Pandolfæa*. (C, v)

This passage alludes even more directly to the *Sidereus Nuncius* than did the earlier scene. Albumazar, cherishing his new stars but casually dismissing his new planets, neatly turns Galileo's work upside down. For in the *Nuncius* Galileo had, with obvious care, built to a climax of the opposite kind. In his preliminary outline of his discoveries Galileo listed his findings in this order: (1) many stars never seen before, (2) the features of the Moon's surface, (3) the numberless stars of the Milky Way, and (4) the new planets or the Moons of Jupiter.⁷ This outline is but the first of three distinct treatments of the same material. Each time Galileo shifts the order of his first three discoveries but always reserves the last place for the new planets. Of all his momentous discoveries the Moons of Jupiter seemed to bulk largest in his mind because—and subsequent attacks on his book proved him right—this finding would do more than any other to jolt the conservative adherents of Aristotle, Ptolemy, and the "Old Astronomy."⁸

Albumazar's willingness to name the new found stars *Sidera Pandolfæa* again shows that Tomkis's comedy lies on two levels. Beneath the trite jest about cuckoldom (the horns of Aries, the

⁶ After Pandolfo sees the otacousticon, he exclaims, "Why 'tis a paire of Asses eares, and large ones" (B4v). Cf. John Taylor, *No Mercurius Aulicus* (1644), sig. A2v, in *Works* (Spenser Soc., 1873), II, no pagination, "the long eard *Outacousticon* of *Albumazar*."

⁷ *Opere*, IV, 303-05.

⁸ He says as much, *ibid.*, IV, 305.

Ram) is the pointed allusion to Galileo's naming Jupiter's satellites the Medicean Stars in honor of his patron Cosimo. The satire is reinforced later in the play when Albumazar is ironically urged to "Discouer more new Stars, and vnknowne Planets: / Vent them by dozens, stile them by the names / Of men that buy such ware" (v, i, K2^r). The honor conferred on the Medicis resounded in other princely courts of the time. Witness a letter Galileo had from the court of France, April 20, 1610:

In case you discover any other fine star, call it by the name of the Great Star of France, as well as the most brilliant of all the earth [sic], and, if it seems fit to you, call it rather by his proper name, Henri, than by the family name Bourbon. Thus you will have an opportunity of doing a thing due and proper in itself, and, at the same time, of rendering yourself and your family rich and powerful forever.⁹

Tomkis's satire, however ill-judged, has some historic interest aside from its anticipation of such later ridicule of the telescope as is found in works like Jonson's *The Staple of News*, Shadwell's *The Virtuoso*, and Samuel Butler's *The Elephant in the Moon*. Absurd as it sounds now, Tomkis's use of the *Sidereus Nuncius* does imply that Galileo might claim to see strange sights, that he might even, by the force of suggestion, delude others into thinking that they saw them too, but that men free of superstition or self-interest were too well aware of reality to be taken in. This scepticism would indeed be fantastic if each point of Tomkis's ridicule could not be matched in the writing of his contemporaries. For instance, the eminent astronomer Christopher Clavius, one of Galileo's admirers, said that he "laughed at the idea of there being four new planets, to see which they must first be put inside the telescope. Let Galileo keep his opinions and welcome. I hold to mine."¹⁰ Others like Julius Libri, astronomer of Pisa, refused to look through a telescope at all.¹¹ Still others must have put their faith in writers like the young German scholar Martin Horky, who claimed that he had looked through a telescope and seen nothing, and that Galileo had announced the new planets only to sustain his own pride and satisfy his avarice; or in authorities like Jacob Christmann, who wrote: "We are not to believe that nature has given Jupiter four

⁹ J. J. Fahie, *Galileo* (London, 1903), pp. 99-100.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

satellites in order to immortalize the name of the Medici. These are dreams of idle men who love ludicrous ideas better than our laborious maintenance of the heavens."¹² Thus Tomkis was by no means alone, though he was probably the first English author to enter a satiric disclaimer against such reverence as was revealed in Kepler's cry: "O telescope, instrument of much knowledge, more precious than any sceptre! Is not he whole holds thee in his hand made king and lord of the works of God."¹³

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AMORETTI, SONNET I

In 1907, the late Sir Israel Gollancz arrived at certain interesting conclusions in regard to a copy of the first issue of *The Faerie Queene*, Books I-III, then owned by him.¹ On the title-page the words *προς αυτον* had been written, and on a blank page near the end of the volume, a version of the first sonnet of the *Amoretti*, with the title "A sa mistresse." Gollancz became convinced that the volume was Spenser's own copy, and that he had sent it to Elizabeth Boyle, "inscribing therein the Sonnet, which was subsequently to form the prelude to the whole sequence of the *Amoretti*." The *Amoretti*, he reminds us, was published five years after *The Faerie Queene*. "Thus now for the first time," he remarks, "the real force and meaning of the first Sonnet are made clear," namely that it refers to *The Faerie Queene* and was written to ask the lady's acceptance of a copy of that work.

Gollancz's conclusions, so far as I know, have not been challenged, and indeed a facsimile of the sonnet has been printed at least three times as Spenser's autograph without any qualifying statement, twice with the added assertion that it represents a presentation inscription to Elizabeth Boyle.²

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 103-04.

¹³ *The Sidereal Messenger . . . and a Part of the Preface to Kepler's Dioptrics*, trans. E. S. Carlos (1880), p. 86.

¹ "Spenseriana," in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1907-1908, London, pp. 99 ff.

² In A. S. W. Rosenbach, *Books and Bidders, The Adventures of a Bibliophile*, Boston, 1927, p. 150; in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, IX

The *προς αυτον* of the title-page may have the force, as Gollancz says, of "from the author to himself," and may indicate that this particular copy was his own. I must leave that to the Greek specialists. But all Gollancz's other inferences, I feel, are open to question.

First the handwriting. A careful comparison of it with the dozen specimens of Spenser's hand now available will, I am sure, leave few with the belief that we have here an example of Spenser's penmanship.³ Perhaps the two opening lines were written by one person, the remainder by another—a suggestion made to me by Mr. Herbert C. Schulz, Curator of MSS. at the Huntington library. The secretary hand used after the first two lines is less regular than Spenser's, less sloping, lacks the long strokes to which he inclines in the case of *f* and *s*, lacks his characteristic *of*, and most of its capitals are not made exactly as he makes them. Also several of the small letters—*a*, with a spur at the top, *b*, and *h*—differ from Spenser's.

But our sonnet might be in another hand and yet an earlier version of the printed form. Gollancz says, "The lines undoubtedly represent the first form of Sonnet I." I think this may be so; yet when I examine the variants, I wonder whether we may not have here merely a slightly distorted version written down from memory by some admirer of the *Amoretti*.

The sonnet refers, says Gollancz, not to the *Amoretti*, but to *The Faerie Queene*. This seems to me an extremely unlikely inference, in view of the second quatrain:

Happy ye lines when as wth starry light
Those lampinge eies shall deigne on you to looke
And reade the sorowes of my dieng spright
written wth teares in hartes close bleeding book.

These lines could hardly be warped into an application to Spenser's

(June 3, 1933), 626; and in *English Poetical Autographs*, edited by Desmond Flower and A. N. L. Munby, London, 1938.

³ For specimens, see Henry R. Plomer, *Modern Philology*, xxi (1923), 201-207; Raymond Jenkins, *Studies in Philology*, xxxii (1935), opposite p. 126; *PMLA*, lii (1937), opposite p. 338, and liii (1938), opposite p. 350; *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650* (ed. W. W. Greg and others, Oxford, 1925-1932), Plates xxxix, xl; *Facsimiles of Royal, Historical, Literary and Other Autographs in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum* (ed. George F. Warner, Series i-v, 1899), No. 92.

epic, but they describe well the first two-thirds of the *Amoretti*, sonnets which are of course filled with the sorrows of an unsuccessful lover.

The sonnet is inscribed, Gollancz tells us, "on the blank left-hand page facing Spenser's letter to Sir Walter Raleigh"; in other words, just at the end of the text of *The Faerie Queene*. A more natural place for a presentation sonnet would be on a flyleaf at the beginning of the book. Perhaps the writer merely chose a blank page of his volume of *The Faerie Queene* to record a sonnet by Spenser that he liked, which of course may have reached him in an earlier form than that eventually printed.

My main contention in this brief paper is then, first, that the sonnet is apparently not autograph, and hence was not employed by Spenser in connection with his presentation of a copy of *The Faerie Queene* to Elizabeth Boyle, and, secondly, that its "real force and meaning" have nothing to do with *The Faerie Queene*.

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A NOTE ON SUCKLING'S *A SESSIONS OF THE POETS*

As far as I am aware, no editor or commentator has attempted to annotate the reference at line 17 of Suckling's *A Sessions of the Poets* to "Bartlets both the brothers" and the stanza at lines 55-59:

To Will Bartlet sure all the wits meant well,
But first they would see how his snow would sell;
Will smiled and swore in their judgements they went less
That concluded of merit upon success.

The two Bartlets were almost certainly William and John Berkeley, of whom the elder soon afterwards became Sir William and Governor of Virginia, and the younger was later raised to the peerage as Lord Berkeley of Stratton. In contemporary documents their name is variously spelt Berkeley, Barkley, Barclay, Bartley, and Bartlet. Suckling's poem was written early in August 1637,¹ and at this time William Berkeley was, like Suckling, in attendance

¹ P. H. Gray, "Suckling's *A Sessions of the Poets*," *SP.*, xxxvi (1939), 60-69.

on the King as a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, while John Berkeley had returned to Court only a few weeks previously from an embassy to Queen Christina of Sweden. It is impossible to doubt that Suckling was well acquainted with both men.

Apart from this reference John Berkeley is not known to have had any claims to poetic fame, but his brother's tragicomedy *The Lost Lady* was acted at Court during the Christmas season of 1637-38, when Suckling's own play, *Aglaure*, was also produced. I do not pretend to be certain of the meaning of the allusion to William Berkeley's "snow," which doubtless refers to some contemporary joke which was even then intelligible only in Court circles. But it may quite possibly refer to the frigidity, or purity, of *The Lost Lady* which, when *A Sessions of the Poets* was written, had probably been read and discussed among Berkeley's friends, but had yet to stand the test of actual performance.

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MILTON, SAPPHO (?), AND DEMETRIUS

In *An Index to the Columbia Edition of the Works of John Milton*¹ the reference to Sappho is erroneous. It reads: "Sappho, Fragment preserved by the scholiast on Sophocles, *Elect.* v. 148 1 47 (S I. 6)." Line six of the first sonnet is "First heard before the shallow Cuckoo's bill." Evidently a reader for the *Index* misunderstood Warton's note to this line:

Jonson gives this appellation [messenger of spring] to the nightingale, in the SAD SHEPHERD, A. II. S. vi.

But best, the dear good angel of the spring,
The nightingale. —————

ANGEL is messenger. And the whole expression seems to be literally from a fragment of Sappho, preserved by the scholiast on Sophocles, *ELECTE.* v. 148.

ΗΡΟΣ Δ'ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, *μερόφωνος ἀηδῶν.*
*Veris nuntia, amabiliter cantans lusciniā.*²

¹ New York, 1940, II, 1725.

² *Poems upon Several Occasions by John Milton with notes by Thomas Warton*, London, 1785, pp. 331-2.

Clearly Warton means that the lines which are almost literally from Sappho are Jonson's, not Milton's.

In *Comus*, however, there is an expression which Milton may have taken from a fragment of Sappho. Of the Haemony, which his shepherd friend has given him, the Spirit says:

The leaf was darkish, and had prickles on it,
But in another Country, as he said,
Bore a bright golden flow'r, but not in this soil:
Unknown, and like esteem'd, and the dull swain
Treads on it daily with his clouted shoon. (631-5.)

In *De Elocutione*, Demetrius quotes the following lines as an example of "epiphoneme" or "diction that adorns": "Like the hyacinth-flower, that shepherd folk 'mid the mountains tread underfoot, and low on the earth her bloom dark-splendid is shed."³ Demetrius does not say that the lines are by Sappho, but since the time of Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (1843) they have been included in the Sappho canon.⁴

There are two interesting aspects of this possible borrowing. The first is that almost immediately following the lines inspired by Demetrius' quotation Milton inserted in the Cambridge MS a line taken literally from *The Valiant Welshman*, by R. A., Gent. (London, 1615): "That Mercury to wise Ulysses gave."⁵ Here then, is a good example of the wide variety of authors who furnished Milton with grist—from Sappho(?) to R. A., Gent.

Second, if the lines quoted by Demetrius inspired the lines in *Comus*, we have additional evidence of Milton's careful study of *De Elocutione*, one of the rhetorics Milton recommended in *Of Education*. Professor W. Rhys Roberts⁶ has already pointed out

³ A. S. Way's translation in W. Rhys Roberts' *Demetrius On Style*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 121. The passage is from ¶ 106 of the tractate:

ὑπηρετὶ μὲν ἢ τοιάδε,
οἶαν τὰν ὑάκινθον ἐν οὐρεσι ποιμένες ἄνδρες
ποσσὶ καταστειβουσιν,
ἐπικοσμεῖ δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τὸ
χαμαὶ δέ τε πορφύρον ἄνθος.

⁴ Edgar Lobel, however, in his recent edition of Sappho (*Σαπφῶς Μέλῃ, The Fragments of the Lyrical Poems of Sappho*, Oxford, 1925, p. 47) says that he doubts the authenticity of these lines.

⁵ Milton later changed "That Mercury" to "That Hermes once." The borrowing was first noted by Todd.

⁶ "Milton and Demetrius de Elocutione," *The Classical Review*, 15 (Dec., 1901), 453-4.

how in *An Apology Against a Pamphlet* Milton remembered something which he had read in *De Elocutione*. Incidentally, with the help of the very useful *Columbia Index* it is possible to present further evidence that Milton knew this rhetoric well. In *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* he names Demetrius:

For Christ gives no full comments or continued discourses, but as *Demetrius* the Rhetorician phrases it, speaks oft in Monosyllables, like a maister, scattering the heavenly grain of his doctrine like pearl heer and there.⁷

The reference must be to ¶ 7, where Demetrius says:

Short members may also be employed in vigorous passages. There is greater vigour and intensity when much meaning is conveyed in a few words. Accordingly it is just because of their vehemence that the Lacedaemonians are chary of speech. Orders are given concisely and briefly, every master being curt towards his slave⁸ (*καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπιτάσσειν σύντομον καὶ βραχύ, καὶ πᾶς δεσπότης δούλῳ μονοσύλλαβος*).

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BYRON'S EPITAPH TO BOATSWAIN

One of the best known of Byron's early writings is his epitaph on the dog Boatswain: "Near this spot are deposited the Remains of one who possessed Beauty without Vanity, Strength without Insolence, Courage without Ferocity, and all the Virtues of Man without his Vices. This praise, which would be unmeaning Flattery if inscribed over human ashes, is but a just tribute to the Memory of BOATSWAIN, a Dog, who was born at Newfoundland, May, 1803, and died at Newstead Abbey, Nov. 18, 1808." Printed in 1809 (in Hobhouse's *Miscellany*) and in 1814 (second edition of *Cain*), the epitaph has frequently been quoted as an illustration of Byron's Childe Harold mood. Mrs. Mayne found it "disconcerting," however, that the epitaph was written on October 30, "nearly three weeks before the dog died."¹ This circumstance

⁷ I, 19.

⁸ Roberts' translation, *Demetrius On Style*, p. 71.

¹ E. C. Mayne, *Byron* (New York, 1924), pp. 88-89. It is further "disconcerting" to find Byron writing on November 18 to Hodgson that Boatswain died November 10, instead of November 18. See *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, ed. R. E. Prothero (London, 1898), III, 171.

points to a studied—perhaps artificial—rather than a spontaneous mood of composition.

Such an inference is strengthened by an interesting parallel in the *Annual Register* for 1777 (p. 195). The following epitaph to Sylvia, by Dr. Percival (perhaps the Manchester physician and author, Dr. Thomas Percival, described by *DNB.*) is very close in mood and manner to Byron's praise of Boatswain: "To the Memory of Sylvia —, a cheerful companion; faithful friend; and real Philosopher, if Obedience to God, conformity to Nature, and Benevolence to Man; with unaffected indifference to Profit, Power, or Fame, be true Philosophy. She mingled in all companies, yet preserved her native simplicity of manners; and was caressed by the profligate, while she reproved their Vices. . . . This Monument blazons no feigned virtues of the Dead, to flatter the Vanity of the Living; for it is erected not to a Woman, but a Spaniel."

It is possible that Byron himself saw this epitaph in the *Register*, but such a supposition is not necessary to give interest to the parallel. Since in a footnote Dr. Percival mentions a monument in Temple's garden as his inspiration, we have perhaps another "source" for Byron's epitaph. More plausible, and more important, we may have a clue to a minor literary fad in the eighteenth century. For the contrast of perfect brute and imperfect man is one congenial to the misanthropic philosophies of the period, and the epitaph is a convenient form for its statement. At any rate, Byron's epitaph to Boatswain seems less distinctively personal when read alongside of Dr. Percival's similar composition.

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A SOURCE FOR HARDY'S "A COMMITTEE-MAN OF 'THE TERROR'"

A book that much interested Thomas Hardy was *The Journal of Mary Frampton*, first published in 1885. Its appeal for him is not hard to explain. Mary Frampton was a Dorset woman, living most of her life in Dorchester, and her journal—more a

letter-book than journal—covers the period 1779-1846, and particularly the Napoleonic years. Through it move the familiar Dorset families, the Framptons, Damers, Strangwayses, and Lady Susan O'Brien, the Lady Susan of "Friends Beyond" and the noble lady of "The Noble Lady's Tale," whose romantic marriage with a popular actor of her day Hardy often recalled. It has not, I think, been noticed that this book provided Hardy with the germ of one of his last short stories, "A Committee-Man of 'The Terror'" (first printed in the Christmas Number of the *Illustrated London News*, 1896, and collected in *A Changed Man*, 1913). Mademoiselle V—'s strange romance, which commenced when she fainted on the bridge at Weymouth, confronted by the *émigré* Monsieur B—, "Member of the Committee of Public Safety, under the Convention," who had guillotined her father, brother, and uncle, and broken her mother's heart, seems to have been suggested by the following passage. It comes from a letter of Lady Elizabeth Talbot's to her sister, Lady Harriot Fox-Strangways, London, March 3, 1797: ". . . It is perfectly certain that there are forty thousand *émigrés* in this town at present; a greater number than have ever been known at any one time since the Revolution. . . One of the Directory was seen a few days ago in the Strand, and recognized by a French lady whose father, mother, and brother he had murdered. She fainted away in the street, and before she recovered enough to speak he had escaped in the crowd."¹ Hardy has given the dramatic episode a Wessex setting, in characteristic fashion, and moved the time ahead some five years to the brief Peace of Amiens, but the debt to Mary Frampton's Journal is no less apparent.

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YEATS'S FIRST TWO PUBLISHED POEMS

No bibliography of Yeats¹ includes mention of what apparently were the first two poems he published: "Song of the Faeries"

¹ *The Journal of Mary Frampton*, ed. Harriot Georgiana Mundy (2nd ed., London, 1885), p. 94.

² The most complete are Allan Wade, "A Bibliography of the Writings of W— B— Yeats," *Collected Works*, Stratford-on-Avon, 1908, VIII, 197-

and "Voices" that appeared in *The Dublin University Magazine*, March, 1885. Both Wade and Roth, in their listing of Yeats's contributions to periodicals, begin with the lyrical drama "The Island of Statues" that came out in the same magazine in April, May, June, and July of 1885.² Yeats himself indicated the order of these initial publications when, in telling of an invitation to read "The Island of Statues" to critics who were to decide about its acceptability for the college magazine, he said, "The magazine had already published a lyric of mine, the first ever printed."³ The lyric he referred to was probably "Voices," for he had reprinted it frequently: "Song of the Faeries," with its four conventional quatrains, he had excluded from his work after 1889 and had doubtless forgotten. For the purposes of the remainder of this discussion "Voices" needs quoting in its original form:

What do you weave so soft and bright?
The cloak I weave of sorrow;
O lovely to see in all men's sight
Shall be the cloak of sorrow—
In all men's sight.

What do you build with sails for flight?
A boat I build for sorrow;
O swift on the seas all day and night
Sailleth the rover sorrow—
All day and night.

What do you weave with wool so white?
The sandals these of sorrow;
Soundless shall be the footfall light
In each man's ears of sorrow—
Sudden and light.

Yeats incorporated both poems in "The Island of Statues," II, 3.⁴ The faery song he used with only punctuational changes; the

287; A. J. A. Symonds, *A Bibliography of the First Edition of Books by W— B— Yeats*, London, 1924; and William M. Roth, *A Catalogue of English And American First Editions of W— B— Yeats*, New Haven, 1939. To these should be added P. S. O'Hegarty's "Notes of the Bibliography of W. B. Yeats," *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct.-Dec., 1939, pp. 61-5; Jan.-Mar., 1940, pp. 37-42.

² Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³ "Reveries Over Childhood and Youth," *Autobiographies*, New York, 1927, p. 114. "Reveries" was first published in 1915 by the Cuala Press.

⁴ The faery song, *Dublin University Review*, July, 1885, pp. 138-9; the voices song, *ibid.*, p. 136.

voices song he broke up into a series of questions and answers in which a First Voice spoke line 1, a Second Voice lines 2-5, a Third Voice line 6, a Fourth Voice lines 7-10, a Fifth Voice line 11, and a Sixth Voice lines 12-15. No titles are used. He reprinted this scene in *The Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems*, 1889, calling it "Island of Statues, A Fragment."⁵ In the faery song, the first line is changed slightly; in the voices song, "sorrow" is capitalized throughout and a few commas are shifted.

The only part of "The Island of Statues" printed again was the voices song: under the title of "The Cloak, the Boat, and the Shoes" it appeared in *Poems*, 1895; *Poems*, 1899; *Poems*, 1901; *The Poetical Works*, I, 1906; *The Collected Works*, I, 1908; *Early Poems and Stories*, 1925; and *Collected Poems*, 1933. In the 1895 version the changes are rather marked:

'What do you make so fair and bright?'

'I make the cloak of Sorrow:
'O, lovely to see in all men's sight
'Shall be the cloak of Sorrow,
'In all men's sight.'

'What do you build with sails for flight?'

'I build a boat for Sorrow,
'O, swift on the seas all day and night
'Sailleth the rover Sorrow,
'All day and night.'

'What do you weave with wool so white?'

'I weave the shoes of Sorrow,
'Soundless shall be the footfall light
'In all men's ears of Sorrow,
'Sudden and light.'

Yeats was evidently satisfied with the poem as it now stood, for no further changes were made until *Collected Poems*, 1933, when he dropped the comma after the "O" in lines 3 and 8, and deleted the single quotation mark at the beginning of lines 3-5, 8-10, and 13-15. In this latter case, some one may have got after him on the grounds of English Composition.

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⁵ London, pp. 141-56. Wade, *op. cit.*, 201 and 251, incorrectly indicates that the entire play was reprinted.

TROLLOPE AND HENRY JAMES IN 1868

In 1867 Anthony Trollope published anonymously, *Nina Balatka*, "in order to see whether the large public which his novels had already gained was faithful to him because of the quality of his work, or merely because of the guarantee of quality which his name supplied."¹ The novel failed to sell and in the following year Trollope tried again with another anonymous novel, *Linda Tressel*, which also failed to sell. The identity of the author of these two novels was the subject of much speculation. "The authorship was (and remained) unknown to the great majority of the reading public . . ."² *Linda Tressel* fell to the young Henry James for review in the *Nation*, June 18, 1868. The twenty-five year old critic began:

We have read "*Linda Tressel*" because it is by the author of "*Nina Balatka*," and because it is as clear as noonday to our penetrating intellect that the author of "*Nina Balatka*" is but another title of the author of "*Barchester Towers*." . . . Mr. Trollope's style is as little to be mistaken as it is to be imitated. . . . Mr. Trollope has . . . his own reasons for suppressing his name . . . if perchance his motive had been partially to refute the charge that he has exhausted his vein and that his later novels owe their popularity only to the species of halo irradiated by his signature, he may assure himself that he has been amply successful.

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THE "UNTRACED QUOTATION" OF ERNEST DOWSON'S DEDICATION

Among the several "quotations . . . which remain untraced" in Ernest Dowson's collected works, for which "the notes will be found wanting" in Flower's definitive edition,¹ is a longish passage in French which forms part of Dowson's dedication of his *Verses* (1896) to "Adelaide" [Faltinowicz]. It begins as follows:

¹ Michael Sadleir, *Trollope: A Bibliography* (London, 1928), 71-72.

² *Ibid.*, 261, n.

¹ Desmond Flower, *The Poetical Works of Ernest Christopher Dowson*, London, Cassell and John Lane, 1934, p. 243.

Votre personne, vos moindres mouvements me semblaient avoir dans le monde une importance extra-humaine. Mon cœur comme de la poussière se soulevait derrière vos pas. . . .²

The source of the citation is *L'Education sentimentale*,³ of Dowson's "favourite"⁴ Flaubert. Amusingly enough, the original speech made by Frédéric to Mme Arnoux is treated, in the novel, quite ironically, as a piece of romantic self-deception and exaggeration: Flaubert adds, "Frédéric, se grisant par ses paroles, arrivait à croire ce qu'il disait." Dowson, on the other hand, accepts the passage without mental reservation, terming its phrases "sentences far beyond my poor compass. . . ." The difference in attitude is wholly characteristic in the case of each author.

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REVIEWS

The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, poems written in youth, poems referring to the period of childhood. Edited from the manuscripts, with textual and critical notes by E. DE SELINCOURT. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1940. Pp. xvi + 379. \$6.00.

Wordsworth and the Seventeenth Century. By J. CROFTS. Warton lecture on English poetry, British Academy, 1940. London: Humphrey Milford [New York: Oxford University Press], 1940. Pp. 20. 1sh. 6d. or \$0.60. (From the proceedings of the British Academy, xxvi.)

The White Doe of Rylstone. By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Critical edition by ALICE P. COMPARETTI. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1940. Pp. xii + 311. \$2.50. (Cornell Studies in English, xxix.)

² *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

³ Flaubert, *L'Education sentimentale*, Paris, Charpentier, 1909, p. 513.

⁴ Flower, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxvi, uses the word to express Dowson's general esteem for Flaubert.

Some Letters of the Wordsworth Family, now first published, with a few unpublished letters of Coleridge and Southey and others. Edited by LESLIE NATHAN BROUGHTON. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1942. Pp. xii + 131. \$3.00. (Cornell Studies in English, xxxii.)

The Wordsworth Collection, formed by Cynthia Morgan St. John and given to Cornell University by Victor Emanuel. A supplement to the Catalogue. Compiled by LESLIE NATHAN BROUGHTON. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 87. \$2.00.

The One Wordsworth. By MARY E. BURTON. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. xiv + 237. \$3.00.

Wordsworth's Pocket Notebook. Edited, with Commentary, by GEORGE HARRIS HEALEY. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 106. \$1.50.

The death of Ernest de Selincourt on May 24, 1943, was a severe loss; for, not to mention his editions of Spenser and Keats and his two volumes of lectures, he did more for Wordsworth scholarship than any other single person has done. Through the confidence he inspired in Gordon Wordsworth he had access to a chaotic, jealously-guarded mass of important manuscripts that were not only unpublished but unknown. To the editing of these he brought an unusually keen mind, a retentive memory, industry, and a detailed knowledge of the Lake District and of the life of the poet and of his sister. At the time of his death he was engaged on an edition of the entire poetic works, only the first volume of which has appeared. The unique feature of this edition was to be the use of manuscript material—unpublished poems and early versions of published poems. It is to be hoped that Professor de Selincourt had a good part of this material ready for the press and that the remainder will be brought out by his co-laborer, Miss Helen Darbishire.

The first volume is important not only to students of Wordsworth but to all who are interested in how a poet develops. It is noteworthy for 58 pages of juvenilia, and for early versions of *An Evening Walk*, *Guilt and Sorrow* and *The Borderers*—of these last two there are no less than four manuscripts; its limitation is that the new material is of almost no value esthetically. The juvenilia reveal the young Wordsworth in the throes of adolescence: self-conscious, imitative, sentimental, revelling in a melancholy which he did not feel and in Gothic terrors which he had not experienced.

There is no promise of genius, no imagination, no originality. Gloomy, vague, obscure, and unreal, these early efforts are singularly unlike the early work of Shelley but equally unpromising. It is illuminating to compare the mawkish, self-conscious account in *The Vale of Esthwaite* (lines 418-37) of the boy's waiting for the horses that were to take him home for the holidays with the memorable description of the same occasion in *Prelude*, xii. 287-335. The inadequacy of the early lines was due, not so much to the young poet's limited powers of expression, as to the fact that, while feeling had stamped the incident on the boy's memory, the significance it came to have lay in what the brooding mind of the adult enabled the imagination to do with it.

In Professor de Selincourt's editing there are a number of slight inaccuracies: "other MS." (p. 315), but the notes mention only one MS.; "*Prelude*, (1805) iii. 84-108" (p. 367), iii should be iv; "*Il Penseroso*, 79-6" (p. 369), 79 should be 75; "419-36" (*ib.*) should be 418-37; "538 and 541" (*ib.*) should be 542 and 545; "in the same notebook as the translation of Juvenal" (p. 374), but the *Imitation of Juvenal* (it is not a translation) is preserved in two notebooks. Furthermore it is not always clear in the titles and rubrics of the juvenilia whether we have the words of the poet or of the editor; and one wonders whether "rob'd" (p. 276, l. 274) is right and whether even in the "Dirge" (a poor a piece as a great poet ever produced) Wordsworth wrote "They laid him . . . To cavern dark" or

The woodman at dim morn, who blows
The chearing turf his dear wife gave.

Professor L. N. Broughton of Cornell University, who kindly collated the dedicatory letter, argument, and first hundred lines of the first edition of *Descriptive Sketches* with the reprint here given, reports fifteen slight inaccuracies in punctuation, capitalization, or spelling, most of which are due to following the final rather than the first text.

Mr. Crofts maintains that Wordsworth's poetry owes little to developments in "the sceptical and sophisticated eighteenth century" since it belongs "clearly to the simpler world of the seventeenth," and has "most curious parallels" with "the religious biography of this period." The lecture is stimulating but seems to me in the main unsound. For example, I do not find "profound modifications of personality" in the Wordsworth of 1795-8 but a return, with a new awareness, to the earlier personality. In the last four pages Mr. Crofts discriminates admirably between the treatment of nature in Wordsworth's poetry and in that of seventeenth-century writers, whose eyes were fixed, not on the object, but on brave, translunary things.

Much labor has gone into the preparation of Miss Comparetti's

comprehensive, careful and useful edition of the gray, austere *White Doe of Rylstone*. Her volume includes the final text together with full, variant readings, two maps, 50 pages of notes, 42 of the comments of various writers (interesting chiefly for the light they throw on the history of criticism and of Wordsworth's reputation), and no less than 80 pages on the sources. Not a little of this material might well have been condensed or omitted in the interest of a more searching consideration of matters less obvious but of greater moment. One of these is the part played by the doe in Emily's recovery. Miss Comparetti rightly mentions the joy and peace the doe brings but not its reawakening of Emily's affections. Another subject demanding fuller treatment is the relation of the poem to Scott's metrical romances, of which Wordsworth held a poor opinion and the popularity of which, when contrasted with the neglect of his own work, must have irked him. In choosing a story so similar even in time and place to one of Scott's own, in employing Scott's meter and Scott's format, the quarto, Wordsworth was certainly challenging comparison with the work of his friend. The challenge was emphasized by the shift in emphasis from the outer to the inner world, from pageantry to patience, from romantic love to family affection. Wordsworth wrote Scott on August 4, 1808: "I think your end [in *Marmion*] has been attained. That it is not in every respect the end which I should wish you to propose to yourself, you will be well aware, from what you know of my notions of composition, both as to matter and manner." In *The White Doe* he seems to be carrying out the purpose which he wished the Border Minstrel had proposed to himself: the exaltation of spiritual values over physical. The work is not an attack on the active life but an attempt to redress the balance in favor (as its author wrote Coleridge April 19, 1808 and repeated in the Fenwick note) of "the better fortitude Of patience and heroic martyrdom Unsung." There may also be an unconscious allusion to Scott's poetry in Wordsworth's letter to Wrangham of January 18, 1816: "Throughout [*The White Doe*], objects . . . derive their influence not from properties inherent in them, . . . but from such as are bestowed upon them by the minds of those who are conversant with [them]. . . . Thus the Poetry . . . proceeds whence it ought to do, from the soul of Man, communicating its creative energies to the images of the external world." Nearly all of these letters and other relevant documents are included in Miss Comparetti's useful edition.

Mrs. Broughton's well-edited volume is notable for containing 67 letters of Wordsworth's, 5 of his sister's, 4 of his wife's, 6 of Coleridge's, and 5 of Southey's. None of these has previously been published in its entirety and nearly all are recent additions to the rich Wordsworth collection in the Cornell University library. None is important or particularly interesting, although Wordsworth's illuminating comments to Mrs. Clarkson on *The Excursion*

are here printed accurately and completely for the first time. Manner and the matter are characteristic of the three poets when not at their best: Wordsworth, pedestrian; Coleridge, affectionate but wordy and tending to the fatuous; Southey, pleasantly conversational but little more. Forty-three of the letters, addressed to G. H. Gordon, are concerned chiefly with Wordsworth's attempts to find a home on the continent in which his son William could be tutored. Readers of these and other letters in which the Wordsworth children figure largely will wish an account of their later histories. Were they, except for Dora, dull and generally negligible?

The letters which Mr. Broughton prints (except those from Southey) are listed along with more than 700 other items in his supplement to his 1931 catalogue of the Cornell University Wordsworth Collection. In these ten years the library has acquired not only unpublished letters and manuscripts but many books from Wordsworth's or from Ruskin's library, nearly 150 Coleridge items, and over 200 dealing with the lake country. Scholars will be glad to have the list of numerous books, articles, and reviews dealing with Wordsworth and Coleridge which could have been assembled only by one with Mr. Broughton's persistence, his unusual acquaintance with new publications and with all that pertains to Wordsworth.

Miss Burton's thesis is that the revisions of *The Prelude* reveal, not two Wordsworths—a young, radical, inspired creator and an old, pedestrian conformist—but one, a writer whose beliefs and poetic powers changed but little from 1805 to 1840. Of the evidence from the poet's acts and letters as well as from the testimony of Crabb Robinson and others which points in the opposite direction, she says nothing. Nor does she mention the suppression of animistic passages in the early texts and the addition of pious ones. The softening of lines which might be interpreted pantheistically she ignores or explains on other grounds. She also seems to ignore the cautious double negative, which was introduced rather often into the later text. But on this and some other points I may be mistaken, for the inadequacy of the index makes it difficult to discover what subjects or passages are discussed.

Her astonishing conclusion that when Wordsworth came to revise *The Prelude* he was "a vastly better poet than his younger self" (p. 227) ignores the supreme poetic gift, which is creation, not revision. "When I compose," a distinguished living poet has remarked, "I am a poet; when I revise, I am a critic." Miss Burton is right in maintaining that the revisions of *The Prelude* are usually improvements; but a great part of them are improvements such as almost any experienced writer could have made. Furthermore many of the changes commended by Miss Burton are of the kind that the youthful Wordsworth reprobated: "bestowed" for "did give" (p. 139), "behold" for "see," "cleaves" for "sticks,"

"ken" for "mark," "adhered" for "stuck," "glassy plain" for "ice," "garb" for "clothes," "whereto" for "to which," "ere long" for "meanwhile," "perchance" for "perhaps," "nigh" for "near" (pp. 144-5), "intrusive restlessness" for "false activity," "stripling of the hills" for "mountain Youth," "learnt betimes" for "been train'd up," "unworldly votaries" for "blameless priesthood," "solicit our regard" for "might here be spoken of" (p. 213). Such stuffiness Miss Burton terms "the change to a more poetic word" (p. 144) or to "more polished phrases" (p. 212), just as she finds that the distortion of the normal word order in the final text "greatly strengthens" the line or serves "to make the poem more poetic" (pp. 204-5). And so, by a singular irony, he who led the attack on "poetic diction" is praised for having perpetrated such diction!

Mr. Healey has edited with care and intelligence a small, hitherto unpublished notebook used by Wordsworth in 1839 and 1840. In it the poet jotted down appointments and other memoranda during a visit to London and Oxford when he received the honorary degree of D. C. L. He also wrote in it an early version of the first of his sonnets on Furness Abbey, an unpublished quatrain, two unpublished bits of verse apparently on a portrait of Miss Fenwick, and a form of *Prelude*, viii. 451-8 which differs but slightly from the lines as published, for which no manuscript authority had previously been found. The material is not important but Mr. Healey has edited it admirably.

RAYMOND HAVENS

The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene." By JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. ix + 299. \$3.00.

When we stop to consider we are all aware that *The Faerie Queene* in its final form has many inconsistencies and loose ends, that in the long course of composition it must have undergone more or less radical changes, and that the letter to Raleigh, which did not even harmonize with the part of the poem it accompanied, could not have been Spenser's one and only plan. Yet most of the time we incline, as Mrs. Bennett says, to assume that Spenser began with 'A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine' and drove straight on through his six books until death overtook him, so that in our critical comments on his artistic development and other topics we are likely to forget his patchwork method. Some years ago Miss Spens made a serious if not too plausible attempt to divine the nature of the poem's evolution, and now Mrs. Bennett has made a new attempt. Her solid, thorough, and acute study is a notable contribution to Spenserian exegesis. As Mrs. Bennett's articles

have amply shown, she has all Spenser and Spenserian scholarship under ready command, and even readers who have some sense of virtue may now and then feel like the ladies who tried on Florimell's girdle. The author's learning, however, is only the foundation for a fresh and lucid argument. In the first eight chapters Mrs. Bennett examines such general problems as the nature of Spenser's first essay (the one Harvey saw), the late plan described in the letter to Raleigh, and the roles of the Faery Queen and of Arthur. In eleven more chapters she analyzes the six books and tries to disentangle early and late elements and to explain general and particular changes in plot and technique, allegory and characterization. One of many welcome things is her emphasis on *Revelation* as the basic source of Book I.

In a brief review of a complex study one can perhaps best show its range and importance, if not the array of evidence mobilized, by itemizing some of the author's ideas. These are presented in the book as suggestions with varying degrees of probability, but for convenience here they are summarized as facts. The letter to Raleigh did not embody Spenser's plan of 1580 but was an attempt "to systematize the product of ten years of experimentation." Though his allegiance was divided between Virgil and Ariosto, the poet did not, after writing Books I and II, decide to follow the loose pattern of Ariosto; he began as Ariosto's disciple. At first, too, starting from Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and his own April eclogue, he celebrated Elizabeth as the Faery Queen, an English Diana. She was then given an Order of Maidenhead, an Order not mentioned to Raleigh but conspicuous in III, IV, and V. She finally developed into the remote but ideal Gloriana, while her role as Diana was taken by Belphebe. The Order of Maidenhead gave place to a scheme of twelve moral virtues, exemplified by twelve knights. But Spenser did not begin with supposedly Aristotelian virtues but with the four cardinal and more or less Christianized virtues. The Arthur so prominent in the letter to Raleigh, and in our theories of Spenser's heroic poem, was not an initial and central part of his plan but a late addition prompted by a revival of public interest in the British hero, an addition not always well articulated with the story as it stood—as in II, where Arthur for a while crowds Guyon out of the picture. The names of Guyon and Arthegall, taken from the two famous Earls of Warwick, were tributes to the Dudley family from the author of *Stemmata Dudleiana*. Arthur was not designed as a compliment to Leicester. The Irena episode in V was originally written about Lord Grey but in 1595 was altered to fit Sir John Norris; Arthegall, the rescuer of Irena and Burbon, is Norris.

As this partial list indicates, Mrs. Bennett challenges a good many traditional assumptions and opinions and doubtless she will not convince all readers on all points. For instance, I find it a bit hard to accept Arthur's vision of the Faery Queen (I, ix) as "little

more than a paraphrase" of *Sir Thopas* (p. 11). And I do not understand the logic behind the statement that "Spenser's apologists have devised an interpretation of chastity to fit the contents of the book" (p. 144); one does not know what course is open to critics except to try to interpret what the poet gives them. Praise of Spenser's positive conception of chastity has been misguided, Mrs. Bennett argues, because, in his "thoroughly conventional" view, chastity was simply virginity; because he had conceived of Britomart's story "as a love story, modeled on Ariosto's tribute to the house of Este"; because he was embarrassed by the need of flattering the virgin queen; and because he could not please her with a heroine passionately in love. But after all, whatever Spenser's conjectural problems, there remains the insurmountable fact that he did choose to write and offer to the queen a Book in which the heroine of chastity was an ardent ideal lover. Once in a while some readers may feel that, with her genius for reconstruction, Mrs. Bennett has for the moment left her Palmer behind and tried to prove too much. But concreteness of exposition is one of her merits and, on the rare occasions when slight qualms arise, one has a case to meet. And as a rule one has nothing but admiration for the author's analytic skill and judgment, and gratitude for the many fresh rays of light her close investigation throws upon the poem that we have.

DOUGLAS BUSH

Harvard University

John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems. By JAMES M. OSBORN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv + 295. \$3.50.

This is an able, scholarly performance, which will be of service to students of Dryden for many years to come. It covers a variety of subjects, for the most part related only as they pertain to the life of John Dryden. The manner in which they are treated testifies to the intelligent curiosity and scholarly resourcefulness of the author. Mr. Osborn's good judgment may be illustrated not only by what he has included in his book but also by what he has omitted. For example, he is fully aware, as I have occasion to know, of certain interesting records of Dryden's financial transactions, such records as the exchequer receipts now in the possession of the William Andrews Clark Library and the account of his deposits and withdrawals preserved by Hoare's Bank in London. But the story told by these records is still so incomplete as to be without special meaning, and it was therefore properly excluded.

More than half of the book is devoted to a survey of the chief biographies of Dryden, and the survey proves to be illuminating in various ways. Not only does it reveal a number of interesting facts

about the methods of scholarship and of biographical writing employed by such men as Birch, Malone, Scott, and Johnson, but, by tracing in detail how certain traditions concerning the poet originated, developed, and (in some instances) were disposed of by investigation, it also simplifies the problems of Dryden's future biographers, who will the more easily avoid the prejudices and errors of the past. The sections given to Edmond Malone are especially informative and the appraisal of the fact-finding and the critical abilities of Johnson, Malone, and Scott is especially judicious.

The usefulness of the book proceeds from virtues of different sorts. It contains new information about Dryden, his family, and his friends. For example, it traces Dryden's residences in London, establishes the fact and the date of his baptism, calls attention to and dates an important letter which he wrote to Dorset, throws new light on his relations with Walsh, discloses several interesting facts about his connections with the Salwey family, to whom he was related, and provides us with new material about the life and death, in Rome, of his second son. In the analysis of manuscript notes and corrections in Dryden's copy of the 1679 Spenser it gives us a new view of the poet's reading habits and of his attitude toward the text of Spenser. Besides providing new information, it outlines some of the more interesting problems connected with Dryden's career, sums up, in a comprehensive way, the facts bearing upon them, and weighs the evidence. The results are sometimes inconclusive, but Mr. Osborn's statement of the pertinent facts will at least lighten the task of other scholars who deal with the same problems.

At the risk of appearing to quibble over words I should dissent from a few conclusions as they are stated by Mr. Osborn. Thus, when he writes, discussing the *Medal of John Bayes* (p. 167): "Because the outside evidence always supports and never contradicts what Shadwell says, even those incidents where corroborative evidence is lacking must be accepted until they can be disproven"; I should say that they must be accepted as probabilities but not as facts. Likewise when he writes, apropos of the Verses on Konigsmark (p. 254): "In the absence of contradictory evidence Gregor's testimony is enough, in my opinion, to allow the verses to be accepted as Dryden's"; I should say, inasmuch as this kind of testimony has so often proved to be misleading, that Dryden's authorship is a possibility but not a fact. However, since it is pretty clear that Mr. Osborn offers such judgments tentatively, with the full realization that further evidence may lead to different conclusions, they are not properly subject to serious objection. These, and the half dozen minor slips to be found in the volume, do not detract from its essential soundness and usefulness.

EDWARD N. HOOKER

University of California at Los Angeles

Stefan George: Poems. Rendered into English by CAROL NORTH VALHOPE and ERNST MORWITZ. Pantheon Books Inc. [1943] 253 pp. \$2.75.

Late, years after Rilke, Stefan George makes his appearance in the poetic and spiritual world of the United States, perhaps at an opportune time i. e. at a moment when America, after facing the enormous problems of the war with almost stoical composure, is beginning to bend its emotional energies toward the tasks of peace and reconstruction. If the reading public and especially the younger generation can overcome the difficulties which form and thought of this poet both in translation and original present, there is hope that he may with his sternness of vision and intransigence of ethical postulates help to shape the social and political ideas of a post-war world, hope and irony if he whom the Nazi leaders would fain have raised on their shield while he lived and deified after he had passed, should have prophesied rightly in his words

I shall be earth, shall be the grave of heroes,
That sacred sons approach to be fulfilled.

The present translation is imbued with the spirit of Stefan George throughout down to its very technique, which the epilogue on "Method and Purpose" elucidates: it bars every freedom of the translator except that of sometimes changing feminine to masculine rhymes, thus yielding to the character of the English language; it maintains intact the integration of the stanza and even, if at all feasible, of the line; it observes the meter and its ornaments, such as alliteration and vowel scales, and zealously guards the dignity of form as expression of content against patchwords in rhyme or rhythm. Bearing in mind such selfimposed strictures and the extraordinary difficulties of the text itself, the objections and suggestions appended at the end of this review should be seen in proper proportion and considered as a modest contribution toward a second edition of the book.

A word must still be said about the introduction, which presents the reader not only with a competent introduction to the world and art of Stefan George by one of his close friends, but also with a running commentary to these 99 poems, which were chosen from seven of the poet's volumes not alone for their intrinsic merit but from the standpoint of presenting a conception of his development, art and ideals. No doubt the felicitous cooperation of the translators owes its success to the esoteric knowledge and interpretation of Mr. Horwitz and the tried art of verse rendering of Mrs. North Valhope. The larger part is at least more than adequate and a goodly number of the poems are congenial and strikingly brilliant (especially those of *Teppich des Lebens* and *Siebente Ring*). The numbers of the following observations refer to pages:

Vocabulary (especially in technical terms and shading): 43 *woodwax*: unfamiliar for *broom*; 105 *quickenings grasses*: the plural destroys the definiteness of a botanical name (better known as *quick grass*); *tendrils*: need not be trimmed (in spite of Muret-Sanders the word *Ranken* means only *branch, vine*); 151 *osiers* need no watering; *wall-bloom* deviates too far from the technical name *wall flower*; 43 *tide*: is moving water and does not form a frozen surface, just as in 57 waves cannot serve as a mirror; 47 *oozed*: disagreeable connotation; *fence* has no bark; *Wipfel* are not sprays; 51 *slacken*: the absolute use of verbs (either without object noun or reflexive) is disturbing, as for instance also in 73: *flinging* (myself) and in 55 where *further landing* suggests a pier; 53 *grau* suggests mourning while *sallow* has a negative valuation; 55 *regions*: too indistinct for *Gelände*; *frosty* has a disagreeable connotation, which especially in 173 vitiates the key words *kühle Au* of this landscape; 85 *bespricht*: *stills, charms*; 99 *to fix the vague divinings of the night*—incomprehensible; 119 *Belt: surge?* 143 *spun*: for *niederfel* is misleading, one sees grain instead of hail; 171 *tide?* Stanza 3 is incomprehensible; in the last stanza an *and* between *circling stars* and *flowers blowing* would clarify the serial construction; 173 *rue*: pity instead of emotion? 175 *Rasen* cannot be seen in *rows*; *fruit is spent*: suggests end rather than beginning; the change of tense in *abating* and *do not grasp* changes the subtle shading; 183 *Lord of Turning*: is incomprehensible; 185 *candid*: is not a visual impression; 195 *revealed*: is too pale for *aufriß*; 203 *raunt*: *breathes?* 211 *Bleibe der Flamme Trabant*: *follow the flame* would have the flame move, while the idea is that it stays; 213 *light within*: *flaming in?* 219 *hollow* would be more concrete than the plural; 227 *be immersed*: lacks the dynamic; 235 *stay*: does not express that he may enter but would not remain; 237 *is gone*: expresses abstractly a permanent state instead of the concrete today's waiting in vain; 239 *this these*: cacophonous.

Construction: 47 *to the yet unknown*: person or object? *remote in his grief*: which is the subject, who or the unknown? 49 *he* cannot be understood as referring to *sun* (In hall of . . . the sun . . . planets reigns?) 57 *too* seems to modify *garlands* and not *your*; 59 *shall play rule*: which is the verb? 69 the plural *paths* would have separated more clearly *motley* from *pond*; 81 *locks wreath*? last line is incomprehensible; would *now* not be better than *then* in last stanza? 99 *gain*: sounds commercial; 103 comma after *gains* would clarify somewhat, as after *voice* in 129 and after *now* in 133 (fourth line from bottom); 139 the construction of the last four lines would become clear if *Be now . . . laving* could be at the end (unfortunately disturbing the rhyme scheme); 151 *edges*: cannot be immediately recognized as a verb; 153 the change of tenses makes the last stanza incomprehensible; 157 *is shifted*: the motion demands a dynamic verb form in the present tense, otherwise the noun dominates the metaphor; 163 *who is the spouse?* 197 *is come*; *knows*: the present tense instead of the past makes it abstract; 201 confusion of tenses beclouds the meaning entirely; 209 first lines: incomprehensible; would this be better: You call it much when that which I possess / you took as yours; *precarious*: is *bedenklich* not adverbial, and in sense: *compelling?* *voucher*: suggests the paper rather than the person; 217 line 3 *my* (so in original) instead of *the* would make the passage clearer; 219 change to: *That he was granted sojourn in their splendor*; and since *they* refers to *heights*, it would be more emphatic and clearer in its reference at the beginning: *They shall continue . . .*; 231 *grooves*: cannot be sensed as a verb; 235 line 7 *that house?*

The reader will keenly miss a complete alphabetic index of titles and first lines.

ERNST FEISE

The Johns Hopkins University

Three Poets and Reality, A Study of a German, an Austrian and a Swiss contemporary lyricist. By RUTH HOFRICHTER. Yale University (for Vassar College), 1942. \$2.00.

Ruth Hofrichter hat in dem vorliegenden Band das Werk dreier moderner Lyriker auf ihr Verhältnis zur Realität hin untersucht. Die drei Dichter sind Carossa, Weinheber und Steffen — ein Deutscher, ein Österreicher und ein Schweizer. Der Begriff "Realität" ist in seinen beiden grundsätzlichen Möglichkeiten gefasst: als Natur, im weitesten Sinne des Wortes, und als politische Gegebenheit. Der naturnaheste der drei Dichter ist Carossa; für den Anthroposophen Steffen hat die Natur nur als Symbol und Gleichnis dichterisches Leben, während die ideologisch orientierte Lyrik Weinhebers sich in einer völlig abstrakten Landschaft bewegt. Was diese Dichter aber, auf der anderen Seite, miteinander verbindet ist die politische Realität: ihre mehr oder weniger gewollte Existenz innerhalb des nationalsozialistischen Machtbereiches. Ihr Verhältnis zum Hitlerismus ist dabei aber wieder so verschieden wie ihre Persönlichkeiten verschieden sind: Carossa nimmt ihn mit versteckt protestierender Resignation hin, Steffen ignoriert ihn völlig, und nur Weinheber hat ihn wirklich zur bizarren Basis seiner Dichtung gemacht. Die Verfasserin hat sich jedoch nicht mit der Feststellung dieser geistigen Situation begnügt, sondern ist durch geschickte Analysen kritisch zu den dichterischen und menschlichen Quellen dieser Dichter vorgedrungen. Besonders aufschlussreich ist die Untersuchung der inkonsequenten und widerspruchsvollen Weltanschauung Weinhebers. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Carossa und Steffen dagegen bringt wenig Neues zutage. Das mag nicht zuletzt daran liegen, dass weder Carossa noch Steffen (und Carossa noch weniger als Steffen) praedominierend lyrische Dichter sind. Während die Verfasserin aber das erzählende Werk Carossas ausführlich in die Diskussion einbezieht, so ausführlich, dass die Lyrik dieses Dichters eigentlich nur zur Erhärtung der aus der Prosa gewonnenen Aufschlüsse benutzt wird, beschränkt sie sich bei Steffen ausdrücklich auf die Lyrik: ein etwas unsystematisches Vorgehen, das nicht ganz befriedigt.

Am wenigsten überzeugt der Rahmen, in den die drei Einzelarbeiten eingespannt sind. In einem einleitenden Kapitel werden Probleme angeschnitten, auf die es im Folgenden keine Antwort gibt. Abgesehen von dem Verhältnis der drei Dichter zu Rilke wird wenig oder nichts gesagt über ihren Platz in der deutschen Literaturtradition. Es wird kein Versuch gemacht, ihre eigene Realitätschau zu dem Realitätsproblem früherer Generationen in Beziehung zu setzen. Ebenso wenig wird begründet, warum die Verfasserin sich auf die drei herausgegriffenen Dichter beschränkt hat, und man muss bedauern, dass der Rahmen nicht weiter gefasst wurde

und das Problem der Realität beim modernen Dichter überhaupt und als solches ins Auge fasst. Trotzdem aber haben wir hier einen ersten ernsthaften Versuch, die Rolle des Lyrikers unter völlig unlyrischen Verhältnissen und Umständen, des Lyrikers unserer Zeit, zu untersuchen und ein Kapitel der modernen deutschen Literaturgeschichte zu skizzieren, das noch viele kommende Generationen von Historikern beschäftigen wird—wenn die hier untersuchte politische Realität erst wirklich Historie geworden ist.

WOLFGANG PAULSEN

State University of Iowa

The Italian Questione della Lingua. An Interpretative Essay. By ROBERT A. HALL, JR. Chapel Hill, 1942. 66 pp. (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 4.)

Mr. Hall's Essay gives us something more than a mere outline of the *Questione della Lingua*. He has attempted to review the whole question and to evaluate it from the vantage point of modern linguistic science; and in this respect his approach adds to and criticises the treatment of the subject by Vivaldi, Labande-Jeanroy and others. It is inevitable and acceptable that he should use Labande-Jeanroy's distinction of the four possible positions in this long debate: 1) Tuscan and Archaistic 2) Tuscan and Anti-Archaistic 3) Anti-Tuscan and Archaistic and 4) Anti-Tuscan and Anti-Archaistic. There can surely be no quarrel with these headings or with Hall's particular allocations under them. Likewise his external history of the debates is scrupulous and accurate.

The third chapter of the essay entitled "Who was Right" is more provocative. In order to formulate judgment, Mr. Hall insists on distinguishing three elements of the debate: the origin and nature of Italian, its extension, and the question of authority. As to actual origin, Mr. Hall finds that the "Tuscan" party was right. "Modern linguistics furnishes incontrovertible proofs of the Tuscan and more specifically Florentine nature of standard Italian." In the question of extension of this standard language, both sides exaggerated their claims. In its spread, the Florentine language took up features from dialects which it overlaid and superseded. The formation of Italian in the Trecento and the spread of the language was of the same type as that of standard French, Spanish or English. As for the question of authority, Mr. Hall keeps to his vantage point of "modern linguistic science" and brings to bear on the position "that no type of linguistic structure and no linguistic phenomenon is inherently and inalterably superior to any

other. Nor does any speaker of a language have any inherent authority over any other speaker."

It is interesting to have here the viewpoint of "modern linguistic science" introduced into the question. But one feels that Hall has at this point kept too strictly to a position of modern linguistic scientist to the detriment of his *historical* judgment. That is, he seems here to be making a pronouncement which few of the debaters in the long *questione* would have found very reasonable. For, as Mr. Hall well knows, but as linguistic scientist refuses to consider here, the *questione della lingua* was primarily a debate over a standard *literary* language. To judge of "who was right" without considering this fundamental aspect of the question, however thorny and unscientific it may be, seems to misplace the true accent of the historical situation. From the earliest apotheosis of the "tre corone" to Manzoni, the question of an authoritative literary tradition is constantly present in the *Questione*. Even with Dante, of course, it was very much present. Mr. Hall may be quite right in stating that the "volgare illustre or aulico set up by Dante in the *D. V. E.* was not a fact" and that "the plain truth of the matter is that such a volgare aulico never existed outside of the imagination of Dante and the anti-Tuscans." But is it not more important to the question that it did exist in Dante's imagination, and continue to be an elusive *fera fuggitiva* (quod in qualibet redolet civitate, nec cubat in ulla) through the centuries. What modern Italian writer has failed to pursue it in his work? In a chapter headed "who was right" such things must be taken into account.

These are perhaps minor doubts. Mr. Hall's essay merits attention from all students of Italian and is the neatest digest of the *Questione della lingua* now in print.

CHARLES S. SINGLETON

Simon Tyssot de Patot and the Seventeenth-Century Background of Critical Deism. By DAVID RICE MCKEE. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. 105 pp.

The *Voyages et aventures de Jacques Massé* appeared in 1710. Of this little book, the Marquis d'Argenson wrote nearly half a century later:

Ce livre a fait grand bruit dans son temps, et est encore aujourd'hui à la mode. C'est un voyage imaginaire dans les terres australes, en un pays où l'auteur prétend que l'on vivoit sous la religion naturelle, avec une candeur

et un ordre que l'on ne voit point sous la religion révélée. Il se prétend bon chrétien, mais il introduit des interlocuteurs qui lancent effrontément des argumens terribles contre la religion.¹

The author of these "argumens terribles," Simon Tyssot de Patot, remained prudently unknown to his reading public in the eighteenth century. Born in London in 1655, he passed a few years in Rouen, but spent most of his life as a Protestant refugee in Holland. Even there his independence of thought brought him some trouble and persecution. His intellectual background was developed from such reading as Montaigne, Descartes, Gassendi, Hobbes, Spinoza, La Mothe Le Vayer, Denis Veiras,² Bayle, and Fontenelle. He was one of the popularizers of critical deism and, forerunner of Béranger, belonged, he says, to "la Religion des honnêtes gens" (p. 92). Unlike Rousseau later, Tyssot "has no primitivistic abhorrence to the use of money, nor is he an advocate of happy ignorance" (p. 87). His *Fable des abeilles*, unrelated to Mandeville's, seems to have aroused echoes in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique*, Article *Abeilles* (1770) (pp. 58-61). In another passage Voltaire refers, in a long list of freethinkers, to "l'auteur déguisé sous le nom de Jacques Massé" (p. 11). Thus Tyssot de Patot takes his place among those obscure authors of "imaginary voyages" who played no small rôle in the spread of new and liberal ideas. Professor McKee's careful and intelligent study fills a gap in this important phase of literary history. The *Voyages et aventures de Jaques Massé* remains today one of the most interesting of these secondary works not undeservedly resurrected from the past.³

GEORGE R. HAVENS

Ohio State University

¹ D'Argenson, *Mémoires*, Paris, Jannet, 1858, v, 125-26.

² Cf. E. Von der Mühl, *Denis Veiras et son Histoire des Sévarambes*, Paris, 1938.

³ The spelling of Locke as "Loke" by Tyssot does not have the special significance which Professor McKee attaches to it (p. 80). The spelling occurs, for example, in the original edition of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* (Lanson ed., Paris, 1915-17, I, 166 ff.), and was not an unnatural way to reproduce the name in French at the time. The use by Voltaire of mathematical computation in 1771 against the idea of resurrection of the body can be linked also with his famous "Note des damnés," added to the *Henriade* in 1746 (Moland, VIII, 175, n. 1). In this connection (cf. pp. 65-66), it is worth remarking also that *Jacques Massé* is mentioned at Cirey as early as January, 1739, by Mme de Graffigny, not, as Professor McKee inadvertently states, by Mme du Châtelet (p. 11). The detail does not affect, however, the legitimate inference that the work was already known to Voltaire as to a rather wide reading public.

BRIEF MENTION

Life in Eighteenth Century England. By ROBERT J. ALLEN. Boston, Massachusetts: Museum of Fine Arts, [1941]. Portfolio of 42 plates with explanatory captions and 40-page interpretative booklet. \$5.20. (Museum Extension Publications, Illustrative Set, 4.) In 42 plates are 61 illustrations, from 22 collections, public and private, here and abroad, representing the age in which England was changed from a little agricultural island to a rich mercantile colonial nation. In his prefatory note Professor Tinker prepares for the emphasis on material things and on the "lesser arts," as well as for the unity of spirit largely prevalent from poetry and politics to china and furniture. If in the whole collection balance and proportion are not perfect, for representing the life of the age, because of overweight on some matters, and omission of others (such as the plight of the poor and notably, religion, in the age of the Wesleys and Whitefield), that is almost inevitable. We are grateful that five valuable pieces of theatrical history can be provided from the Harvard Theatre Collection, and if we might prefer that the portrait of Coram had taken the place of one of Hogarth's "Marriages," we know that humanitarianism could not be adequately depicted thereby, nor could "Gin Lane" serve fully for the misery and brutality of that refined age. But No. 30, of 17th century interest, might well have given way to perhaps, the fine print of Stourhead, a drawing of trees by Gainsborough, an aquatint by William Gilpin, to show the important line running from Shaftesbury to Wordsworth, now hardly indicated. If we wish for a view of the Bath Crescent, that is probably because of recent news.

Dr. Allen's accompanying brochure provides compactly much information, which might connect more closely with the pictures and gives a list of books and one of musical recordings available. This portfolio is one more valuable aid to the teacher of literature, history or art, for which we owe gratitude to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

ELIZABETH W. MANWARING

Wellesley College

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Alspach, Russell K.—Irish poetry from the English invasion to 1798. *Philadelphia*: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. Pp. xii + 146. \$1.75.

Bhattacharje, M. W.—"Courtesy" in Shakespeare. *Calcutta*: U. of Calcutta, 1940. Pp. xx + 226.

Birk, W. Otto; Holmes, Frederick William; Melvin, Harold Wesley; and Vaughan, Joseph Lee.—Basic principles of writing. *New York*: Pitman, 1943. Pp. xiv + 457. \$2.00.

Boaz, Francis S.—The year's work in English studies, Vol. XXI, 1940. *London* [and *New York*]: Oxford U. Press, 1942. Pp. 267. \$3.75.

Bode, Carl (ed.).—Collected poems of Henry Thoreau. *Chicago*: Packard & Co., 1943. Pp. xxii + 385. \$3.00. (Critical edition \$4.50.)

Bolles, Edwin Courtlandt.—The literature of sea travel since the introduction of steam, 1830-1930. *Philadelphia*: U. of Pennsylvania, 1943. Pp. iv + 128.

Bonjour, Adrien.—Coleridge's 'Hymn before Sunrise.' *Lausanne*: Imprimerie La Concorde, 1942. Pp. 236. (U. of Lausanne dissertation.)

Brodeur, Arthur G.—The climax of the Finn episode. *Berkeley and Los Angeles*: U. of California Press, 1943. Pp. 285-361. \$0.75. (U. of California Publications in English, iii, no. 8.)

Campbell, Oscar James.—Shakespeare's satire. *New York*: Oxford U. Press, 1943. Pp. xii + 227. \$3.75.

Clark, James M.—Our language. *Glasgow*: Craig & Wilson, 1943. Pp. 63. (The British Way Series.) 1 sh.

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